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Pact Disarmament Commission Holds Meeting

LD052224 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 5 Feb 88

[Text] A 4-day special session of the special Warsaw Pact member states Commission for Disarmament, at deputy foreign minister level, has been held in Warsaw.

Views were exchanged on the situation in the disarmament sphere, in the light of the agreement concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, as well as on the main directions of further efforts to achieve progress in various areas of disarmament and increasing the level of security in Europe and on a global scale.

The session reviewed the results of the consultations being conducted in Vienna by Warsaw Pact and NATO representatives concerning the compilation of a mandate for further negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals.

It was decided that the commission will continue work on a joint concept for future negotiations.

Further Report

AU061931 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
3 Feb 88 p 7

[Text] Warsaw (CTK)—The first session of the Warsaw Pact special commission for disarmament issues began in Warsaw yesterday [2 February]. The delegations of the member countries are headed by deputy ministers of foreign affairs. The Czechoslovak delegation is headed Jaromir Johanes. The session was opened by Henryk Jaroszek, general secretary of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee and FPR deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Orzechowski Receives Participants

LD060432 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2200 GMT 5 Feb 88

[Excerpts] The first session of the special Warsaw Pact member states Commission for Disarmament, at deputy foreign minister level, has taken place in Warsaw. [passage omitted]

The heads of the delegations of the countries taking part in the session were received by Marian Orzechowski.

Pact Experts Discuss Mediterranean Security

AU031805 Sofia BTA in English
1703 GMT 3 Feb 88

["Security and Cooperation Discussed"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 3 (BTA)—Warsaw treaty states' experts met in a working session in Sofia on February 2 and 3 this year to discuss certain problems of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.

Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, conferred with the participants in the session.

Chnoupek Gives Speech at Geneva Conference

AU051422 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
3 Feb 88 p 6

["Full text" of speech by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, at the opening session of the disarmament conference, held in Geneva on 2 February: "Ensuring the Continuity of the Disarmament Process; Bohuslav Chnoupek's Speech at the Disarmament Conference Session"]

[Text] At this initial stage it is particularly important to adjust the pitch of the coming deliberations so as to make them as businesslike and functional as possible, and also to define the direction they should take—namely, toward enhanced efficiency.

In my present statement, I would therefore like to explain in greater detail the initiatives for enhancing the productivity of this conference, which were formulated at the session Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Pact States in Prague toward the end of last October [1987]. In doing this, I would like to confirm that we immutably attach extraordinary significance to this global forum of disarmament negotiations, and also to share a few ideas on the main tasks of this year's session.

This year's spring session is being held in a historically momentous period. After the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, we are about to enter a new phase. The first steps are being taken toward implementing the concept of a world free of nuclear arms, proposed exactly 2 years ago by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. The transition from security schemes based on military-technical devices to a comprehensive international security system—one that is both equal for everybody, and also respects the balance of interests—is now becoming more realistic.

It is from this basic viewpoint that we appraise the agreement reached on the Washington treaty as a joint victory and a unique triumph of common sense and responsibility. It reflects the balance of interests of all the participants and strengthens general security. A lot of valuable knowledge has been acquired during its preparation, knowledge that is applicable to the entire disarmament process.

We are thus opening our negotiations in a new situation. Let us make good use of it. To quote Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, "mankind should now stop arming itself and start disarming with all kinds of weapons; it should relinquish confrontation in favor of developing long-term and stable contacts in the spheres of the economy, science, and culture, in favor of developing broad cooperation on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantages."

This means that this year's prospects depend on the incisiveness of our further steps and on the energy with which we develop the process which has begun, particularly by:

—concluding a Soviet-American agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons at the Moscow summit meeting planned for this year, while simultaneously adhering to the antimissile defense treaty throughout the period which has been agreed on;

—speedily reaching an agreement on an accord on chemical arms within the forum of the present conference; and

—speedily concluding the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna and agreeing on a mandate for negotiating a reduction of both the level of confrontation in conventional weapons, and of the armed forces in Europe.

In order to reach this goal, we should jointly lay firm foundations for developing a worldwide disarmament effort at this year's Third Extraordinary Session of the UN General Assembly. We should ensure the transition to further stages by adopting programs in decisive directions, while simultaneously improving the international disarmament mechanism.

In this context, I would like to stress with special urgency that the present session in particular is a key to success at the Third Extraordinary Session of the UN General Assembly. This is also why we must make a qualitatively new effort to reach agreement on specific treaties here, at the Geneva Disarmament Conference—for it is these treaties that can ensure the material continuity of the disarmament process.

All of you must surely realize that one can no longer conduct negotiations interrupted by long intermissions, or distract attention from meritorious [meritorne] affairs by means of scholastic theorizing. Our many years of experience convince us that our present conference (thanks to its unique mandate as the international community's main deliberation body in the disarmament sphere) is called upon more than anything else to bridge the abyss between declarations and acts. It offers us a real opportunity to set both bilateral and multilateral mechanisms into motion, on a mutually complementary basis. The coefficient of their efficiency must be strikingly enhanced.

The deliberations of the Prague session of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Pact states in October [1987] were focused on these highly topical problems. We adopted a separate document at the session, entitled "Increasing the Efficiency of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva." In adopting it, we were led by the endeavor to provide the conference with fresh new stimuli for the contents and forms of its activity. We suggested that this year the Third Extraordinary Session of the UN General Assembly should comprehensively assess all aspects of the work of this conference, in order to define, through joint efforts and in the spirit of a constructive and non-confrontational dialogue, the ways and means for improving the results of its deliberations.

We proceeded from the view that a gradual transformation of this conference into a permanent universal agency for disarmament negotiations would help to enhance its efficiency. In other words, it would become an agency with what is practically a year-round work schedule, an agency enabling all interested states to participate in negotiations, an agency whose activity would be totally [integralne] interlinked with both the work of other disarmament forums within the UN system, and with bilateral negotiations.

We reached this conclusion after serious reflection. It really is true (we have always stressed this in the past, and stress it also today) that the main thing needed for progress is the political will of the states, their readiness to rise above narrow egotistical interests and to replace the increasingly risky military guarantees of security by political guarantees.

However, it is no less necessary to enable every member of the international community (via appropriate international mechanisms) to bear his specific share of responsibility for the fate of the world and to constructively influence the disarmament process— particularly in negotiation forums such as the present conference.

Basically, it is therefore a question of fully harmonizing the organizational aspect of the international disarmament effort with the fundamental feature of our times—namely, the wholeness, interdependence, and comprehensive interlinkage of the present world. Our reflections are also affected by the demand to consolidate in international relations the democratic principle that is based on the UN Charter itself. Nobody may be excluded from this. Nobody may be put on the sidelines in the negotiations process.

The interest in active participation in the activities of the Geneva forum has been constantly growing since the forum's inception in 1962. And we welcome the fact that, in the last few years, even states which are not members of this forum have been enabled to take part in its deliberations.

Our idea to make the conference's activity universal reflects these logical development trends. It emphasizes that the substance of conference work lies in negotiations and is meant to enable the conference to play an increasingly significant role, so as to reach significant specific results again.

The Prague session of the committee of ministers also suggested other practical measures for enhancing the efficiency of the conference. We believe that they could already be carried out in the next period, and some of them even at the present session.

First of all, we suggest intensifying the conference timetable so that work would continue throughout the year, or with 2-3 inevitable intermissions at most. The time thus gained could be fully used for businesslike work on the texts of the disarmament treaties under discussion. This could be further aided by agreeing that the auxilliary conference bodies should operate (in keeping with the general mandate of the conference) until their work is concluded, and not on an annual basis. In fact, a considerable portion of the strictly limited time is at present senselessly lost precisely in protracted negotiations on the mandates of individual work agencies. It must be added that (contrary to the wishes of most member states) these negotiations are frequently not very productive.

Furthermore, we consider it useful to be even more energetic in involving well-qualified experts and even whole scientific centers from various countries in the work on solving the problems, and to make broader use of setting up groups of experts—a practice that has proved its worth. We also suggest considering the involvement of prominent scientists and outstanding world figures. A special auxiliary body—an advisory council—could be set up for this purpose within the framework of the conference. Its purpose would be to study the issues under discussion, to work out authoritative recommendations, and to herald well in advance the long-term factors which are important for the process of disarmament and of strengthening security.

We believe that in extraordinary, important times it would be most useful to hold the conference sessions at the level of minister of foreign affair. Such sessions could create the necessary incentives for resolute steps toward a breakthrough in negotiations and toward dealing with any basic difficulties that could crop up.

We therefore suggest the establishment of a flexible, operational mechanism which would develop the existing practices. It could be introduced into the framework of existing conference structures and procedures without any great problems. Its adoption would lead to a modernization of the organizational aspect of the conference and draw it closer to the needs of our times.

We would like the conference to find a way to assess these (and also other) suggestions constructively, and to incorporate the results of such an assessment in its report to the Third Extraordinary Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament.

On the agenda of the deliberations of this year's conference are issues which are very important for all mankind. What we regard as most topical—as we stressed at the

Prague session—is concluding the preparations for an agreement banning and eliminating chemical weapons, proceeding toward totally banning the tests of nuclear weapons, and averting the arms race in space. The Washington summit, in particular, as well as the initiative of the six states that was developed to a significant degree in their Stockholm Declaration of January 1988, and the urgency of the demands of the entire international community addressed to the Geneva conference in the appropriate resolutions of the 42d session of the UN General Assembly have provided hopeful impetus in that respect. It is precisely these key issues that I would briefly like to elaborate on now.

The conference is within reach of arriving at an agreement on banning and eliminating stockpiles of chemical weapons, including the industrial basis for their production. The conclusion of such an agreement could be a question of a very short period—already in the first stage of this year's session, provided, of course, that there is political will and a concentrated effort at the talks, concentrating fully on approval for processing the approximately 10 percent of the text that remains.

However, I want to tell you frankly that we are seriously alarmed by phenomena that go in a totally opposite direction, particularly by the decision to begin producing binary weapons and by the fact that people contemplate stationing them in Europe, as well as by concepts that strive to substantiate some sort of need for chemical augmentation [dozbrojeni]. In these we see a dangerous trend, oriented toward destabilizing the military-political situation.

The most important task is not to slow down, but to accelerate the process of the talks. After all, an understanding in principle on the extent of the upcoming agreement, which also must include binary weapons, already exists.

It is necessary to conclude the working out of an effective mechanism for inspections, on the basis of demand without the right to refuse such inspections; an understanding in principle has already been reached on the necessity of enshrining them in the agreement. We also consider it necessary to make use of the hopeful results of last year's talks and fine-tune the overall organization of the agreement's implementation, particularly regarding the activity of its Executive Committee [sentence as published].

Fine-tuning an economically and financially tenable scheme for systematically controlling the chemical industry will be a difficult problem, too. In this it will be necessary to take into consideration the needs of the economic and technological development of the states that are party to the agreement, regardless of socioeconomic systems. At present we are pondering concrete steps as to how to make the solution of this problem easier.

With utmost urgency we are calling for the speediest possible definite understanding on all of the agreement's remaining issues. On our part we are determined to do for this really everything that is in our powers. We affirmed this clearly already in the joint declaration of the Warsaw Pact member states in Moscow last March. This includes a readiness for sensible compromises as well as openness, as was tellingly demonstrated by the displaying of Soviet chemical weapons in Shikhany last fall.

In this connection I would also like to mention the CSSR and GDR proposal to establish a chemical-weapon-free zone in central Europe. However, I would like to stress in particular that we do not regard it as a step which deviates from the efforts aimed at achieving a worldwide ban on these weapons. We have never viewed global and regional approaches to the limitation of armament as being in opposition to each other. Precisely the contrary is true—we proceed from their dialectical unity.

The same pertains to our similar proposal to establish a non-nuclear corridor. This, too, concerns the concrete measures for mutually reducing the level of military confrontation and for strengthening trust, including the elimination of the most dangerous types of offensive weapons along the line of contact of the two military-political groupings in Europe. We favored their adoption at the Prague session.

Our opinion is that the establishment of the proposed chemical-weapon-free zone would now be a comprehensively useful step of undoubted political importance, when a global solution would certainly help, as well as after the conclusion of the convention, when it could become the overture to its realization in our region.

We are of the opinion that—parallel with the priority task to work out an agreement on chemical weapons—the activity of the conference must be oriented much more purposefully toward the entire complex of the nuclear disarmament problem. Precisely here it must show most distinctly its ability to be the center and the driving force of the practical internationalization of the disarmament talks, attended by all nuclear states, by the entire international community, and thus say its decisive word in the process of shaping a world without nuclear weapons and violence as the fundamental prerequisites for civilization's survival and development.

This year's deliberations consider the issue of a total and universal ban on nuclear weapons tests to be an important task. We are prepared to resolve, flexibly and constructively, the problem of formulating a mandate for the pertinent working body of the conference. The time has really come to fruition to begin general discussion of the upcoming agreement, whose fundamental stipulations lie on the conference table. Setting up a special group of scientists-experts, which would speedily work out practical proposals for a system to check that nuclear tests are not being carried out, would contribute to the progress of the talks. We proceed from the assumption that the preparation of the complete agreement at the forum of the conference and the comprehensive Soviet-American talks which began with the Washington agreement will complement one another and are oriented toward identical objective.

Another priority direction of the talks' efforts which I want to mention is the beginning of practical and useful work on issues concerning averting a feverish arms buildup in space, that is, on problems which are of crucial importance for maintaining strategic stability under conditions in which nuclear disarmament is realized.

Our opinion is that, on the whole, a good foundation has been created for the conference to go over from general assessments to talks on concrete steps, namely, on banning antisatellite weapons and ensuring the inviolability of the earth's artificial satellites. The proposal to set up an international inspectorate to check on objects launched into space also remains highly topical. I want to believe that, in harmony with the practically unanimous demand to activate the talks, one will succeed in expanding the mandate of the conference's pertinent work committee this year.

Finally, I would like to stress our lasting support for the project for a universal disarmament program, and express alarm over the fact that discussion of the project at the conference has not led to the desired result to date. Let us recall that, in its time, the objective of universal and total disarmament, under strict international control, was the main motive for the establishment of a multilateral deliberative forum, whose direct successor is the present conference. We call for a substantial intensification of all important aspects of the entire agenda of the talks. In doing this we are taking into account the appropriate resolutions of the UN General Assembly, which express the will of the absolute majority of states.

At this opportunity, I would like to confirm our firm determination to strive to also extend the practical disarmament process to the sphere of conventional weapons and armed forces, first of all in Europe. This is what we are striving for at the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting and at the consultations of the 23 states on the mandate for the coming Europe-wide talks.

In this connection I recall the exceptionally important proposals to begin talks on eliminating the existing bilateral asymmetries, as well as to compare military doctrines to ensure their exclusively defensive nature.

In conclusion, I would like to express the conviction that this year's disarmament conference will yield positive results, which will meaningfully strengthen the material base of the broad disarmament process—the main guarantee of security, and an instrument to free resources for the needs of development.

Permit me to wish all of you much success in your upcoming talks.

Conventional Weapons Talks Continue in Vienna

LD090018 Budapest MTI in English
2005 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Vienna, February 8 (MTI)—On Monday in Vienna the representatives of 23 countries belonging to the Warsaw treaty or the NATO continued their consultations on which they elaborate the mandate for the negotiations on conventional forces and weapons in Europe. At present the major difference of opinion between the parties is related to the so called dual-weapons - which can be used with either nuclear or conventional warheads.

The delegations of the Warsaw treaty countries recalled the Soviet motion for compromise which would make the negotiations to cover the dual-weapons but not their nuclear component.

According to representatives of the NATO countries the category of conventional weapons involves all conventional weapons regardless of their other use, e.g. the ones fitted with nuclear warhead. Hence they think that it is unnecessary to pick them from the rest of the conventional weapons.

The Hungarian delegation pointed out that the Warsaw treaty countries' compromise move makes it possible to reconcile the standpoints since both sides agree that the dual-weapons, due to their conventional use, are naturally included in the items of negotiations.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Balkan Conference

AU081942 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] On the Balkan foreign ministers' meeting. In connection with the preparations taking place for the meeting of the foreign ministers of Balkan countries, which will be held from 24 to 26 February in Belgrade, an ATA correspondent talked to a spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to find out about the preparations for the proceedings of this meeting.

The meeting of the Balkan ministers, he stated, assumes a particular importance from the fact that it is the first meeting of this kind among Balkan countries. Opinions will be exchanged there about opportunities and paths for the development of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans in all fields, because the interests of the Balkan countries coincide and are held in common. Our country, seriously viewing the preparations for this meeting, has recently carried out discussions and exchanged opinions with representatives of the foreign ministries of all the participating countries.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will participate in this meeting with goodwill, to give its contribution toward strengthening understanding and cooperation among the peoples of the Balkan countries. It will support every constructive step in improving the situation in the Balkans which strengthen peace, stability, and security in the region and beyond. Albania is in favor of independent development and stability of every Balkan country. The Albanian Government has always given priority in its foreign policy to relations of good-neighborliness, and has made specific efforts in this direction. We think that the further development and strengthening of bilateral relations on the basis of equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, will also help in overcoming those negative factors which at present exist in relations among Balkan countries, and will pave the way for multilateral cooperation. Some problems on our peninsula have been inherited from the past. Some of them were kindled and created by imperialist powers with the aim of dividing and ruling. The peoples of the Balkans are more interested than anyone in their peace and security, and wish to live in friendship with each other. We think that they are able to solve their own problems on the basis of their fundamental interests and of the interests of peace and stability in the region, without pressure or interference from anybody outside. We hope that this meeting will serve to encourage cooperation in various fields of common interest, such as economic and trade relations, culture, technology, science, transport, ecology, and others. With goodwill and common efforts, we can achieve solid results in these and other fields.

U.S. Whitehead Visit, Relations Reviewed

AU081443 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 7 Feb 88 p 4

[Yavor Tsakov article: "Has the Correct Path Been Found?"]

[Text] At the end of 1986 U.S. State Department officials announced to UPI that the United States was beginning a series of "tacit examinations [neglasni prouchvaniya]" with the governments of some East European countries. On 23 January 1988 THE NEW YORK TIMES published an article under the headline: "Let Us Warm Up Relations With Europe" signed by a member of the Carnegie Foundation on the occasion of the, at that time, forthcoming tour of U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead to Poland, the CSSR, and Bulgaria. This article pointed out that the traditional policy of a differentiated approach, which was characteristic of Washington's activities in the area, should be more energetically and more resolutely conducted. The goal is to involve those countries which "manifest greater flexibility and a certain wish for a change", as the article stated, in closer relations with the United States. The more so, since a more active policy in relation to Eastern Europe would not require "any particular new political and economic capital investments," the article further pointed out.

Such statements in the U.S. media reflecting a change in the approach of the United States remain the same today, against the background of the visit, which has just ended and was the second within the year, paid to Bulgaria by John Whitehead, the second man of U.S. diplomacy. "The atmosphere has changed for the better," he told journalists prior to his departure, pointing out the increased desire of the two countries to search for ways of expanding their cooperation. If we look at this common wish of the two countries in the context of the East-West dialogue which is now facing considerably better future prospects, we can explain the reasons for the assumption of the existence of prerequisites for a transition to a qualitatively new stage in the development of Bulgarian-U.S. relations. Without overrating their importance, Whitehead's visit can also be understood, on the other hand, as an incentive for a more comprehensive development of the complex of questions concerning a better understanding, mutual confidence, and cooperation between East and West. Let us pay well-deserved tribute to American diplomacy in this process, which still does not conform to the taste of certain conservative U.S. circles. Even after Gorbachev's visit to Washington, they cannot accept the "special interest" in this part of Europe as a natural process. I remember that on 28 January 1988 THE WASHINGTON POST described a clash between the points of view of the State Department representatives and certain Pentagon circles which quite outdatedly insisted that "the Sofia regime is not exempt from complicity in the attempt to assassinate Pope John Paul II." Recently Whitehead himself declared that "certain erroneous ideas" had existed in the United States pertaining to the question of Bulgaria's alleged assistance to international terrorism. Such distortions also existed regarding the question of drugs and their export through Bulgaria about which, according to Whitehead, "we realized that this part of our fears were unjustified." In addition to this, conservative circles in the United States have two more requirements which they consider as prerequisites for improving relations with Bulgaria—namely that Bulgaria should demonstrate independence from the Soviet Union and progress in observing human rights. Following his second visit to our country, John Whitehead can more confidently assert that the stand on the need to further develop Bulgarian-U.S. relations is becoming a priority issue at the State Department, regardless of existing differences or lack of coincidence in our views.

There are areas in which bilateral relations have been traditionally good for many years, such as cooperation in the agricultural sector and in scientific exchanges. Progress was marked in other areas such as the joint struggle against drug smuggling, cultural exchanges, as well as our economic and trade relations. The Bulgarian-U.S. Economic Council resumed its work and its next session is expected to take place in the very near future. On our side there are no obstacles whatsoever to the development of trade-economic relations, provided naturally that the obstacles artificially erected by Washington at the beginning of the eighties, are removed. I do not exclude the possibility that the question of the United States granting Bulgaria most-favored-nation status in trade may have been discussed in Sofia. Although it is true that even without guaranteeing this status, bilateral trade between the two countries might be expanded, given the existence of political good will, this process could even be accelerated. It is possible that as a result of the dialogue, some of the U.S. objections regarding Bulgaria's request to be admitted as a full member of GATT might be abandoned as a result of the bilateral talks. The elimination of political barriers in the form of embargoes, or banning trade with certain goods, will stimulate the development of our economic relations with the United States and will more confidently permit us to join the international markets.

Regarding their evaluations on a wide range of international problems, the United States and Bulgaria share some common views, but they also have numerous differences—as as result of having different friends, relations, approaches to the organization of their respective economic systems, and different national interests. Since this is quite natural, because people in Washington also divide Europe into two parts—Eastern and Western Europe—it is particularly important to find those areas, questions, and problems on which our interests coincide. I remember that Melvin Levitsky, former U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria, said before departing from our country: "I think that we have found the correct path along which to proceed."

Whitehead 'Optimistic'

AU051721 Sofia BTA in English
1432 GMT 5 Feb 88

["John Whitehead on Bulgaro-American Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 5 (BTA)—"I'm very optimistic about the future of Bulgaro-American relations", the U.S. deputy secretary of state, Mr. John Whitehead, said before his departure today.

He pointed out that he finds grounds for this in the progress which has been made in the development of bilateral relations, after his visit here a year ago. "We agreed that we have laid the foundations for working towards a balanced relationship, dealing with political, economic, cultural and human aspects", Mr. John Whitehead stressed. "Our goal is to put relations between the United States and Bulgaria on a new level. We are ready for that effort and my talks here have convinced me that Bulgaria is as well", Mr. John Whitehead said.

We plan to continue the exchange of visits between delegations of specialists of the two countries, which would contribute to the promotion of our political contacts.

In the field of economy, Bulgaria and the United States will discuss the possibilities for encouraging trade and for more active economic relations. These issues will be discussed at the forthcoming session of the Bulgaro-American trade and economic council.

Mr. John Whitehead is of the opinion that the economic reform under way in Bulgaria will contribute to facilitating business contacts and to promoting economic contacts.

He is of the opinion that the cultural exchanges between our two countries have increased in number and scope. An example of this is the "Design in America" exhibit in Sofia, as well as the exhibits shown in the United States telling of culture and traditions in Bulgaria.

"Our two countries are already cooperating on the world-wide problems of drug trafficking and drug abuse", Mr. John Whitehead said, adding that Assistant Secretary of State Ann Wrobleski and Ambassador Al Adams had useful talks with their Bulgarian counterparts. "Jointly with your competent authorities we are trying to find ways to stop the drug traffickers who are using Bulgaria's territory for transit transportation of drugs. We are discussing the ways to turn our common desire to win the international battle against terrorism into actions the United States and Bulgaria can take on this front."

Mr. John Whitehead said that Bulgaria is working on the reunion of divided families. Many of these cases were settled last year.

The relations between the two countries are closer and better than they were a year ago and the atmosphere is much more constructive, Mr. John Whitehead said.

Zhivkov Report to BCP Conference

AU050601 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian
29 Jan 88 pp 3,4,5,6

["Report by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the BCP National Conference": "Restructuring—Cause of the Party, Cause of the People"—distributed in advance to the delegates at the conference; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] Comrade delegates, in accordance with the BCP Statute the July (1987) Plenum of the BCP Central Committee decided to convene the present BCP National Conference.

It is the task of this conference to assess the work accomplished and to map out basic problems and tasks for the further implementation of restructuring in our country during the period preceeding the 14th BCP Congress, **as well as to mobilize the efforts of the party and people for the implementation of this historically important cause in practical life.**

I. [Roman One] The July Concept—A Comprehensive Platform for the Revolutionary Restructuring of Our Society

Comrades, at the 13th BCP Congress we reached the conclusion that a thorough change is required in our society.

—At that time we defined the new strategic line for the implementation of the party's Leninist April policy, the course for qualitatively new growth.

—This course was dictated by the new realities in our country and in the world.

Following the congress, considerable efforts were increased for the implementation of our new designs. As a result of this, a stage of decisive change began in our development, despite the fact that at the 13th BCP Congress the strategic course for a qualitatively new growth had not been identified as a course of restructuring society.

—At the same time the measures we adopted encompassed essential, but only partial, aspects of restructuring. They did not and could not totally reflect our intentions.

This is precisely why we engaged in developing a concept for the further construction of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

We were actually facing **two possibilities: to select an evolutionary or a revolutionary path for our country's development.**

—Lenin stated that history knows changes of all kinds. In this connection he raised the question of the development of socialism, stating that this development, along with evolutionary changes, may and even should undergo necessary revolutionary changes in all areas of society.

Our party concluded that revolutionary changes are what is required, and that we must proceed along the revolutionary path.

Why is this so?

Throughout the years of the people's government, and especially since the April plenum of the BCP Central Committee in 1956, **Bulgaria has made a genuine leap in its total development.** The country, developing at one of the highest rates in the world, was transformed into an industrial-agrarian state. This guaranteed improvements in growing material and cultural standards for the people, and the enjoyment of great international prestige.

Nevertheless, life showed that the present model of socialism in our country has exhausted all its possibilities.

—A radical qualitative **change in the development of productive forces** is taking place in the world today. Its course and nature are determined by the scientific-technical revolution.

—In our contemporary nuclear world **mankind is facing a fateful alternative: to survive or to perish.** The historic mission of socialism is to further strengthen its positions in the struggle for the democratic restructuring of international relations, for peace and social progress, and for a solution to global problems facing mankind.

—The socialist countries are entering a new stage of dynamic development.

—The innovative processes in the Soviet Union are profound and comprehensive. The restructuring process being implemented under the leadership of the CPSU is of tremendous importance for the Soviet country and for world socialism, as well as for all mankind.

Our party highly appreciates and stresses **the historical importance of Soviet society.** Again, it is necessary to stress the basic coincidence of the goals, tasks, and trends of the restructuring process taking place in our country and in the Soviet Union, an idea that was strongly emphasized at our meeting with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev.

This is the situation in which we had to make our choice. Our country had the possibility, regardless of the emerging difficulties and shortcomings, to further develop along the path of improvement. However, from both the domestic and international points of view, we **had no alternative but to choose the revolutionary path,** since new realities exist, which cannot be disregarded or underestimated, both in our country and the world.

This is how we conceived the idea of **a new model of socialism** in our country.

—A characteristic feature of the July concept is that it has developed on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, conforming with our communist ideals, and that it relies upon the strategic line determined by the 13th BCP Congress.

All aspects of the restructuring process in which we are engaged—in the economic and social spheres, as well as in the political system, and in intellectual life—are summed up in the concept under a common denominator and have been developed in a comprehensive system.

—This is a **comprehensive platform for the implementation of the course aimed at qualitatively new growth, for the innovation of socialist society, and for the further construction of developed socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.**

The concept maps out the methods and means to implement the **great national task,** and to transform the People's Republic of Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

—The people's well-being and the intention of creating ever improving material, social, and intellectual living conditions become the **immediate goal of restructuring** under this concept.

The concept placed man, with his interests and behavior, with his moral standards and education, at the center of all revolutionary changes. He, the individual, is the "target" of the initiated restructuring and a factor in its successful implementation.

We now have a concept which **isunderstandable and accessible** to every worker in our country. At the same time, it represents an **open system.**. With the changes of conditions and times, and the accumulation of new notions and experience, this system will develop and be complemented. It will be enriched and focused.

It is necessary, in this way, to expressly emphasize that the July concept considers our specific conditions and pertains to socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

—The concept is a result of the collective mind of scientists, specialists, and political figures. It is the result of the collective mind of the party, the Politburo, and the Central Committee.

If we should generally characterize the work accomplished in this sector, we could say: **The intensive theoretical and practical work in developing and implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress, the assessment of the experience of the fraternal parties, and the experience of the CPSU, in particular, regarding the restructuring of Soviet society, successfully resulted in developing a comprehensive vision and model of socialism in our country.**

This model is a historical necessity, a timely and correct response to qualitatively new questions with which the construction of socialism confronts us, and which both the party and the entire people face.

The chief element characterizing the July concept is that it is based on objective natural laws which operate in our society at the present stage of development. The July concept is based on **the principles which stem from these natural laws.** This is quite natural. The requirements of the objective laws manifest themselves through certain principles. Without these principles we cannot cope with the existing, infinitely large variety of facts, phenomena, and processes, and we risk losing the guiding line in our theoretical and practical work.

This is precisely why, at the July plenum, we **combined these principles in a comprehensive concept.**These are Leninist, party principles. They represent our guiding line today.

How should we describe the principles we have in mind?

The first principle pertains to the unity and variety of socialist property.

—The decisive role productive forces and production relations play in the development of socialist society is well known.

—The question is how the dialectic unity of productive forces and production relations manifests itself in each period of the development of socialism—this is a problem which scholars are debating and about which they will continue to argue.

—One thing was obvious to us: **It is necessary to reveal the nature of the contradiction between production relations and productive forces at the present stage of development, and to expand their further development in our country.**

—To put it more precisely, the question is: Unless we achieve fundamental, qualitative changes at the basis of its development—namely regarding socialist property—can we implement revolutionary restructuring in our society?

—To be more precise: What should be changed and how should things change in connection with socialist property, so that we may give a powerful impetus to the productive forces and achieve a qualitatively new state of socialism?

This is why, the July concept mentions the need for changes in the **core of production relations.**I think it is undeniable that relations of property are precisely the core of production relations.

What prompted the need for a change in the previous attitude to socialist property in our country?

—Throughout the years of socialist construction we ensured the indivisible prevalence of state property. It was precisely on this basis, that we made a historical leap in our development. However, we actually attached absolute importance to this property while underestimating cooperative property at the same time.

The accelerated nationalization of socialist property, in many cases, produced its separation from the working people in the economic sector and in other areas, and alienated the people.

—To a certain extent the working people, namely those who were directly involved in relations with socialist property and were using its objects, began to treat it as **anonymous property, as something belonging to no one.** — This fact not only reflected the development of productive forces and upon the working people's interests. It also resulted in the alienation of certain government organs from the people.

Such are the facts. It became necessary to draw all conclusions stemming from these facts in order to get to the heart of the matter.

What is new about our present approach to socialist property?

First: Our postulate that socialist property is uniform and indivisible in its variety is new. Socialist property exists under different forms: state, cooperative, and municipal property, distributed on the basis of normative documents for private and collective use, and so forth. **All this is socialist property in its essence.**

—We are interested in expanding all forms of socialist property and, according to the given circumstances, promote the development of that type of property which will produce the best results.

This is why we are creating **an economic system**likely to **guarantee the precise development of socialist property as uniform and indivisible.**

—The principles of the voluntary formation of collectives for the management and administration of socialist property are the same.

—All collectives in question are equal, regarding the requirements of the law, in settling their accounts with the banks, and in dealing with the budget. —The plan, the economic mechanism, the principles on the formation of workers wages, and the action of other economic regulators have the same validity for all collectives.

This is how we create conditions for genuine competition, for the achievement of the most complete economic and social implementation of socialist property in its various forms.

Second: The requirement that socialist property should be freed of its anonymous character and will be someone's property is a new element in our idea about socialist property.

—Everywhere, in the production sector, as well as in all other areas of our development, we must make changes to make every worker aware of the situation, so that he may say: Socialist property is my own property, this is my plant, this is my work-shop, this is my brigade, this is my village, this is my municipality, and so forth.

—This is why we attach great importance to the National Assembly declaration which places socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives and the territorial communities of the population on the basis of certain rights, responsibilities, and obligations.

This is one of the principles.

The following principle pertains to democratic centralism.

This is a basic Leninist principle. It is the foundation of the organizational links and mutual relations between state, economic, and social institutions in a socialist state. Nevertheless,**even this principle is not and cannot be considered dogma.** Various forms of coordinating democracy with centralism and of the manifestation of this principle must exist in accordance with different stages of socialist construction.

Under the present circumstances it is inevitable that changes should occur in connection with the application of this principle.

—The main thing is that we should resolutely reject the administrative-bureaucratic centralism of the past, when everything, or nearly everything is dictated by the center.

—The main thing is to accomplish a transition to a coordination of democracy with centralism, likely to ensure a broad expansion of self-initiative of labor collectives, commodity producers and municipalities self-initiative, and so forth.

It is precisely upon the basis of democratic centralism, that we must, figuratively speaking, **transfer the center of the weight from the top of the pyramid to its base—namely to the self-managing organizations, to the labor collectives, and to the municipalities, to the millions of people.**

Does this mean that we are diminishing the role of the state in building the socialist system?

Not at all.

—On the contrary, we **free the state and its organs from those functions** which paralyze the initiative of the local organs and basic state and economic units, and from those functions which produce distortions and administrative-bureaucratic methods of leadership.

—We are **totally eliminating the centralism of the past** which manifested itself in the form of administrative-bureaucratic economic leadership.

Through the new economic mechanism, the new method of planning, and through the system based on contracts between the state and the commodity producers we have established democratic centralism built on an economic basis.

This is **how the state and its high administrative organs are given an opportunity to focus their attention on strategic planning and on the strategic leadership of public affairs.**

—Without the strategic leadership of the state, real chaos would ensue.

The third principle is related to socialist self-management.

—This is a basic Marxist-Leninist principle, as well.

—It is in accordance with the nature and essence of the socialist system.

What is the source of strength of this principle? Why do we rely so much on it in implementing the model of socialism in our country? **The strength of this principle lies in the fact that it provides an opportunity for the development of socialist democracy on a broad basis, for the full participation of the individual, of all social communities, and groups in the administration of public affairs.**

—We have in mind the Law of Value and the commodity-money relationships connected with it; we have in mind the broad development of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution; we have in mind the transformation of man from an object of administration into an administrator; we intend to enhance the role of the people's masses as the creative factor of history.

The strength of self-management further lies in the fact that it permits the development of full-fledged social communities in which the basic issues of man's work and life should be resolved.

—The self-managing social communities are able to function and develop on the basis of broad democracy, under the conditions of the effective principle and of control within the self-managing collectives, as well as within the people's territorial communities.

As we can see, self-management is becoming a general issue, the principal question of all questions.

Why is this so?

This is because we are dealing with a new type of social relations among people, with a qualitatively new administration.

—In the past, the state was the basic organizer of social life. The efforts of the people in building the industrial basis, the material basis of socialist life, as well as our new socialist cultural and intellectual life were centralized and coordinated through the state.

In our opinion, self-management is a basically new form of organization for involving millions of people in the struggle for the construction of developed socialism in Bulgaria.

—Self-management is an opportunity for millions of people to increase their efforts to work on a new basis—the basis of economic and social interest. This is a method of eliminating the artificial barriers that obstruct man's efforts and of stimulating his interest in working more intensly and more efficiently, as well in increasing his income through his labor.

Self-management transforms a working man into a manager of socialist property and opens up great opportunities for him to work on the basis of his own interests, on the basis of individual interests, and on the basis of the interests of the whole of society.

—Whether a collective will be rich or poor will depend to a great extent upon the collective itself.

Self-management turns the people in our municipalities into the masters of their own economic and cultural life, it endows the people in towns and villages with real power enabling them to resolve their own vital problems related to work, everyday life, recreation, and so forth.

Self-management frees the people's energies involves them in political and cultural life, and revives their active approach and responsibilities in relation to social activities.

As a result, self-management represents a general line of democratization of socialist social life, aimed at the gradual transition from power in the name of the people to power through the people. The following, fourth principle is related to the place and role of the party under self-management conditions.

As we explained at the BCP Central Committee July and November Plenums, the party will continue to be the **leading and guiding political force,** the political vanguard of the workers class and of our people. The party is the motor, the driving force in building socialism. However, under the new conditions **the party is not and will not represent a level or a grade in the hierarchy of state power.**

The principles upon which I dwelt **represent a basis and a guiding principle in our activities aimed at the qualitative innovation of socialism in our country.**

II.[Roman Two] On the Approaches We Are Using To Solve the Tasks of Restructuring

Comrades, if the restructuring concept adopted by the July plenum represents an important and necessary mainstay enabling us to accomplish this cause of historical importance, there is another, no less important and necessary mainstay—namely, the theoretical and practical approaches with which we are implementing the July concepts in practical life.

Are such approaches available to us? Yes!

The main idea is that a qualitatively new development in our society should be ensured.

A qualitatively new development in material and intellectual life, in all areas of social life is the most important of all the requirements.

Today, more than ever, we need approaches that will turn our society into a dynamic and open society, a society that is perceptive to every innovation, capable of making a prompt and painless adjustment to changing circumstances and fully developing its potential strength and opportunities, capable of demonstrating its advantages with even great effectiveness.

In order to achieve all this we must, figuratively speaking, abandon the scenario of those approaches which create difficulties and prevent us from fully developing our potential as a new social system.

The July Plenum, without underestimating our successes, but without trying to conceal our weaknesses and shortcomings either, set forth these problems categorically and honestly, with an awareness of the historical responsibility of the BCP for the further upsurge of the motherland.

What do we have in mind in talking about our qualitatively new development?

Our qualitatively new development is, above all, a development which puts the objective, social laws into operation.

—As we can see, the question no longer pertains only to the fact that our development should be in accordance with the requirements of objective laws. This is an old postulate. The decisive factor is the requirement that **the essence of our social system,** and not only the forms and phenomena under which this essence manifests itself, **should be further developed.**

Our qualitatively new development means creating conditions leading to an enrichment of social relations, of their structures, and methods of organization.

—As a new social system based on the social property of production means, socialism is called upon **to overcome** centuries-old contradictions which are the results of exploiters' societies.

—The new society, for example, **eliminated the antagonistic opposition** between classes, between towns and villages, between intellectual and manual labor, and so forth. New processes of **drawing closer together and gradual merging** are developing.

—These law-governed processes, however, do not signify either the diminution or the total elimination of variety in the substance and forms of social relations.

—On the contrary, socialism presupposes a multi-sided development of the ways of life, of man's behavior, of his activities, and of social relations in all spheres.

—Under the conditions of the new social system, class contradictions are gradually overcome, but new, nonclass differences will arise, such as professional differences, as well as differences pertaining to the interests of different strata and groups. Such processes will take place in the territorial communities, in workplaces, and so forth.

—This means that the processes of drawing closer together and gradually merging are, at the same time, processes that should lead to the establishment of varied forms in which new social relations manifest themselves.

Our qualitatively new development is the intellectualization of production and of all other activities, in accordance with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution.

—The implementation of the scientific-technical revolution is in contradiction with numerous established structures, forms of organization, relations, and approaches.

—The implementation of this revolution requires a fundamental change in all sectors, under the decisive influence of intellectualization. A synthesis of science, information, and computer equipment will be a decisive link in this process.

Naturally, these are only a few aspects of the problem concerning the new quality of our development.

Our conclusion is that we cannot further proceed in the old way, that we need basically new approaches. In view of this, I will dwell on some of these approaches, without being exhaustive.

The first pertains to the **dialectic of form and essence.**

As is known, essence is the chief element in our development. However, this does not mean that we should underestimate form. **If we want the new essence to be victorious, we must achieve changes in form and create a new form.**

Practical experience categorically confirmed that, as the people's saying goes, new wine cannot be poured into a moldy old cask.

—Exactly the same thing happened in many sectors of public life in our country, especially in certain old organs of the Council of Ministers and in the former territorial structures. The existing forms had long since demonstrated that they were no longer viable, that they stifled every new, fresh, and promising initiative.

—This is why numerous changes which we wished to promote in recent years, within the framework of the existing structures, but preserving the old forms, produced only partial results.

This was quite natural. **The form is not a simple cover, a wrapper for a given essence. The form is the method of organizing the essence. The success of an initiative greatly depends upon the extent to which its essence is organized.**

This is why we began to create new forms, embodied in the newly established Council of Ministers organs, in the new organs of the territorial system, as well as in the new economic management organs, and so forth.

—Along with this, we devoted and are devoting great efforts toward imbuing these forms with a new essence.

—Regarding the new economic trusts, associations, and ministries, this essence was designed in advance on the basis of the ideas, postulates, and documents which we adopted following the 13th BCP Congress.

Simultaneously with the establishment of these structures, we assessed that **the attainment of a new essence is not a one-time action, but a process under which elements of the old essence may survive and coexist within the form.**

—In the practical application of this approach we are guided by the fact that we are already penetrating into the core of a current 5-year plan and that certain agreements are still valid, that a given normative basis is still in force.

Of particular importance is that in creating new forms and in imbuing them with a new essence, we are preserving some of the previous forms in the economic and other sectors for a certain time.

We cannot create new forms everywhere, with one stroke, by sweeping away the old ones.

—Unless we adhere to this relatively smooth transition, the links and mutual relations in the functioning of the social mechanism may be disrupted.

Our conclusion, confirmed by the practical implementation of the aforementioned approach, is that the new forms should be imbued with an adequate essence in stages, and in accordance with the specific conditions, without using force. **Stage by stage progress and an advance—advance, and stage by stage progress**—this is the main issue, this is the formula of realism!

Under these circumstances, there is no opportunity for either sporadic attitudes, or for noisy campaigns, on the one hand, and no opportunity for lenience and stagnation, on the other hand.

—Along with this, we should not tolerate unnecessary delays and artificial halts in the current processes.

We already mentioned the restructuring of territorial structures, however, in connection with the present remarks, we should point out the following:

—We already established **oblasts** and **municipalities** as territorial structures. The same applies to townships.

—Next month we are expected to hold **elections** for oblast, municipal, and township leaderships in accordance with the new view of self-management from a territorial point of view.

However, we should all be aware of the following: **This is only the beginning of restructuring in territorial units, transforming them from ordinary administrative structures into effective, self-managing social communities of the population.**

—We are expected to accomplish a tremendous amount of work in order to imbue the territorial structures with new substance, so that they may strengthen in accordance with their new social functions and the new democratic methods applied in their activities.

In developing theoretical and practical approaches for the implementation of the July Plenum concept, we devoted great attention to the development of productive forces in our country.

In this priority sector, however, we were obliged to develop and apply approaches to ensure the **technological innovation and restructuring the organization of production** within short deadlines.

In view of this goal, we have to organize our work as follows:

—We must ensure the consistent **construction and efficient operation of a uniform technological infrastructure**—from the research and application of technologies, to their dissemination.

—We must implement essential **changes in the investment structure** by making it possible, as early as 1988, for **three-quarters** of the means of capital investment means in production to be directed toward **technological innovation.**

It is particularly important that, in the practical implementation of this task, the postulate of a "marriage" between electronics and industrial technologies should be increasingly applied. This will enable us to:

—give impetus to **automation** in various types of production;

—promote our priority types of production and goods to a **qualitatively new level** regarding our exploitation indexes and profitability; give priority to the **intellectual factor** and not to the strength of subordinate labor.

Along with this, new approaches are required, approaches which ensure the following:

—the full exploitation of highly productive equipment, thrifty expenditures of raw materials, the rationalization of labor organization and of production-economic relations, and, on this basis, an optimal saving of social labor.

In connection with all this, we also call particular attention to the approaches connected with the new set of economic instruments.

—As a result of prolonged research work and discussions, we discovered **new economic regulators for the economic mechanism,** we discovered new methods of placing socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives, we established a new system of labor wages.

—This applies both to industry and to agriculture. It is expected that we will soon discuss the new approach on the development of domestic trade in the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

—We set the task of working out long-term regulators by the end of the current 5-year plan period.

The **cycle of restructuring** in the economic sector **is essentially being completed** at the present stage. The primary task in this respect will be to gradually imbue the existing forms with a **new essence.**

Along with this, preparations are under way for a transition to restructuring in the **cultural sphere, in the legal super structure, and in the health sector.**

As to our intention to solve the urgent problems of our society on a larger scale, we take into consideration the fact that the basic task today is to develop restructuring, after which we intend to deal with the problems of **our nation's reproduction and with ecological problems** on a large scale. We will also resolve these problems by means of qualitatively new approaches.

I would like to repeat: The mastering and application of new theoretical and practical approaches is a vital necessity for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of restructuring. These tasks are such that they cannot be resolved by relying solely on experience, common sense, and intuition.

I will deal with one more question in this context.

From a theoretical and practical point of view, we made a great breakthrough by promoting the main principles, which should be our guidelines. Without these principles our approaches would simply be deprived of any foundation. **This is why the new approaches require the mastering of principles, above all things.** It is a question of general principles, which pertain to all spheres of social life, and of principles which are specific for one or the other area of life.

This is one aspect of the question.

On the other hand, regardless of how important principles may be, they are not sufficient to form a comprehensive set of instruments for practical work, especially at the present stage, under the conditions of restructuring.

How a given principle will be implemented, and whether it will be implemented at all, is a question that is determined by the **normative systems** through which these principles are implemented.

—This is why we devoted great attention to elaborating new normative systems. If we disregard this question, the principles will remain mere wishful thinking.

—Hence, the task: **The use of one or the other set of instruments presupposes solid knowledge and the efficient application of normative systems. At the same time, the normative systems will remain mere wishful thinking without methods for their implementation.**

—Under self-management conditions, this question emerges with great urgency, because many of the previous methods are outdated and only a few of them can be used.

The basic conclusion to be drawn is that **without principles, normative systems, and methods it is impossible to compile any set of instruments for practical activities whatsoever.**

Under the present circumstances, as our cadres face new tasks—namely, fundamental tasks—the mastering of principles, norms, and methods for a given activity becomes a question of crucial importance, because they enable us to carry out a correct analysis, to seek effective solutions, and to correct in a timely way decisions which contradict life.

III. [Roman Three] The Profound Change We Intend To Implement Must Become the Cause and Destiny of All Working People

Comrades, as you see, we have correct answers for new questions emerging in connection with the construction of socialism, and we have correct guidelines for restructuring our society.

In this context, what is the specific nature of the present stage of development?

This question is legitimate, I repeat, taking into consideration the following facts:

—the fact that we have adopted a concept based on scientific foundations;

—the fact that we have the necessary practical approaches through which we will implement our designs for the future;

—the fact that we have introduced important changes through which we ensured a minimum of sociopolitical and organizational preconditions, without which we could not make any further progress.

We are also aware that, to further implement the restructuring process, we must cope with a tremendous amount of work. This work includes the development of our concept, the elaboration of practical approaches, and a whole entity of material factors, social relations, and intellectual processes which represent our social reality.

Our chief, decisive basis and support in restructuring are the people and the party, the party and the people.

—On the one hand, the **goal** of restructuring is to create ever improving material, social, and cultural living conditions for the people, for their development and assertion as real administrator and managers in all social processes.

—On the other hand, the revolutionary cause of restructuring concerns every citizen in our country. It is impossible to accomplish this process without the creative role and activity of the people's masses.

Naturally, at the beginning of the restructuring process we had to cope with things which, primarily and chiefly, concerned the leading party, state, and economic organs. At that stage, taking into account the working people's interests and their opinions, we had to develop new visions and theoretical principles, to prepare respective normative documents, and create a new set of instruments for our practical work. As early as at that initial stage, we were already aware that **it is not sufficient merely to take the people's interests into account, because restructuring is a cause that can be implemented only through the people, through their activities, and through their socio-historical creative deeds.**

Now that we are penetrating into the essence of restructuring, we are facing the most crucial task in all its tremendous scope: The task is that the spirit, enthusiasm, and the very essence of restructuring should deeply permeate millions of people, and should be widely assimilated by them and practically consolidated through their activities.

This means that every specific step, action, and measure in our work must unveil and implement this strategy, while the people's masses should assert themselves as the creative and moving force of restructuring.

The strategy and tactics of restructuring are merging, they are two sides of a coin, organically linked to each other.

—The more "strategy" is contained in every tactical move, the stronger, the more effective, and the more efficient our tactics will be. Vice-versa, the more "tactics" are involved in the implementation of strategy, the more our strategy will be correct and viable.

The task of entirely transferring the spirit and essence of restructuring laid down in the July plenum concept to millions of people, simultaneously means enriching this very concept, on the basis of the innovations created through the experience of the people's masses and through their self-managing communities.

As a result, we are dealing with a process that should be implemented both from "the bottom" and "from the top," and which is based on one and the same foundation: the creative strength of millions of people.

Hence the task: In the course of restructuring, in passing again and again through the cleaning process [chistalishteto] of the theoretical, elaborations should be transferred to real, practical life, with all the attributes which pertain to the restructuring process. These two activities—the theoretical and the practical—are called upon to form one entity, to interact, and to merge into each other,

May I dwell more in detail on the question of the requirement that restructuring—as a theory and a practical experience—should be "digested" by the people's masses according to Leninist terminology, namely, to become firmly established among the people's masses in practice.

In the course of restructuring we are creating anumber of objective conditions which lead and cannot help but lead toward the aforementioned goal. We are taking into account the fact that man is now beginning to live and work in a new situation.

This problem not only pertains to the socialist way of life, as we are used to calling it. It literally pertains to all aspects of man's existence and development.

Equipped with such methodological and practical visions, our cadres will be capable of coping with basically new tasks, they will be able to search for creative solutions, and to develop an effective method of development, as well as organize practical actions.

—Obviously, this question should be the focus of attention in training and retraining cadres, and in the managerial training of students in higher educational institutions.

—In light of this question, an analysis of economic management at various levels in administrative departments and in the mass media is called for.

—The new approaches in our work should be applied on this basis.

We should never forget or underestimate the requirement constantly to develop and enrich the principles, the normative systems and methods, and the entire set of instruments, as a whole, as well as all theoretical and practical approaches.

We regard man as an aggregate of social relations. From this point of view we should keep in mind the following:

—the **economic** position of man is new;

—the **social** position of man is new;

—the **political** position of man is new;

—the **ideological** position of man is new;

—the **moral** position of man is new.

Generally speaking, under self-management conditions **new mechanisms for the development and fulfillment** of the personality are ensured. **Nevertheless, it would be naive to think that, since objective conditions exist, transforming of restructuring into the people's cause will proceed smoothly and automatically.**

Will there be difficulties in this respect? Yes, there will be difficulties, because a profound restructuring of the people's consciousness is involved, and this includes cadres and Communists, as well. The issue is that **the human factor must be put into operation, that the people must be involved in the restructuring process.**

Complicated processes of reevaluating past values and adopting new values are now taking place in the people's consciousness. The labor collectives are already operating in accordance with the new Labor Code. Along with this, manifestations of outdated, old values still exist in their lives, side by side with the new values. This shows how complicated the process of restructuring is in the people's consciousness, work, and behavior, and how important and urgent it is to consolidate restructuring in practical life.

From this point of view, we can draw the following conclusion: **A qualitatively new political situation is being created in our country and this situation is favorable to the further progress of the restructuring process.**

Along with this, it is very important to **distinguish between two things:**

—First of all. We must keep in mind the fact that **the strategic consciousness of the party leadership has not yet become the strategic consciousness of all our people, of our whole society.** This is merely a question of time. In history there is no precedent of all strata having assimilated fundamental changes at one stroke.

—Lenin stressed that, following every fundamental political and social change, a sufficient period of time is required to assimilate this change.

—The awareness of one or the other political change is a complicated and sometimes lengthy process of fundamental restructuring in the individual and social awareness, in the social thinking, in the prevailing system of values, norms, and rules of behavior.

—The other aspect of the question is how, under the newly created, objective conditions, millions of people may become an active, motive force of restructuring as early as today and tomorrow. If solving the first question takes time, the second question can and should be resolved by the party as soon as possible. Otherwise our cause cannot progress and cannot be completed.

What is the main task at the present stage in connection with totally transferring the restructuring process to real, practical life, in connection with involving millions of people in our country in this process?

Life's experience led us to conclude that a basically new fundamental principle is required.

—Our task in promoting the working people's initiative and activities can no longer be resolved with directives and instructions from above alone.

All this should be placed upon a different basis, the basis of self-management.

If we are called upon to summarize all this, we should say: Restructuring must become the flesh and blood of daily life, and this means **that we must deeply permeate, above all things, that part of our social system in which material and intellectual reproduction is being accomplished, in which our values are being created, in which the political, social, and cultural organizations are developing their activities, and in which the citizens are implementing their independent activities.**

Following the July Plenum, we must inevitably introduce changes in the government organs.

—It could not be otherwise. In order to expand the building of self-management structures, all our society is called upon to free its vital forces from the bureaucratic patronage of several previous organs and create a new type of organs.

The main thing, however, is to ensure a fundamental and final restructuring in those spheres where the self-managing communities act, where the people's independent activities are performed through their own organizations, associations, and other forms of activities.

—This will be a fundamental process of economic, social, and political, as well as cultural, and other changes.

—Obviously, we are talking about things which are connected with the conditions of man's reproduction, with the conditions of his everyday and domestic life, with the conditions of intellectual contacts, with the conditions of the people's fulfillment, and with their way of life.

This is the most important of all questions at the present stage, concerning our development and the fate of restructuring.

All other things are either a consequence of or a condition for completely solving the designated task.

In other words, **the task is that the fundamental change we are intending to implement, and will implement, should become the vital cause, the destiny of all our working people, of all our society.**

Which are **the decisive approaches** leading to this?

In the first place, we can mention the transformation of the labor collectives and territorial communities into managers of socialist property and into those who exercise [subekti] its management.

—The act of placing socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives is a historical deed in itself. Nevertheless, the decisive factor today is that the labor collectives and territorial communities of the population should assume their rights, responsibilities, and obligations so that they may learn **how to manage and how to develop as managers.**

The following ensues from the normative basis, based on the experience accumulated by our pioneers in this initiative:

—the shortcomings that have been allowed to occur in the process of preparations for placing socialist property under the management and administration of labor collectives should be eliminated;

—all superfluous bureaucratic details should be eliminated from contractual relations;

—the specific conditions and requirements in the work of every collective and every working unit should be really taken into account;

—the most direct link between management activities and the results of the respective work should be achieved.

Along with this, both the self-managing structures and the state organs must understand the fact that there should be no question of working by fits and starts [kampaniynost] in this respect. This is a process of constant interaction between state organs and self-managing structures, in accordance with the new allocation of management functions throughout the whole social pyramid. Only in this manner can we transform the people's daily existence into the existence of managers who are interested in increasing socialist property as a uniform and indivisible asset.

Second, there are the economic regulators. Figuratively speaking, they represent the pith and marrow of restructuring for every member of society; they determine, to the greatest extent, the attitude of millions of people to the restructuring of all society.

What is the most essential factor today?

The most essential factor is that economic regulators and their effect should "come down to earth" and, without any distortions, reach every working individual, every citizen.

—This can be accomplished through the new principle of basic wages and an increase in these;

—through the influence of the financial-credit mechanism, depending upon the question of how effectively the available financial resources are directed and used;

—through the system of sanctions for nonfulfillment of contractual obligations, for irregular and poor quality production, for goods that do not meet the requirements of competition.

This is, so to speak, the general requirement, the general norm. It must be further specified for every link in production and in other spheres of activity in accordance with their natural laws and specific characteristic features, so that this requirement may reach every citizen.

—It is through the economic regulators that the citizen must understand and become aware of the significance of his contribution in his work, of what it means for himself, for the collective and for society, aware of how he is evaluated, and of the significance of this evaluation for his own development as a worker, a creator of values, and a consumer.

Along with this, however, we should not create the wrong idea, (which some cadres, specialists, and collectives in our country seem to share), namely, that the application of economic levers is a remedy for all evils and will proceed smoothlessly, without causing any problems.

Why is this so?

—Because, in the present stage of transition in our economic sector, under conditions in which the economic situation of different social communities is still unequal, the economic regulators will gradually develop.

—Because it is natural that, under such conditions the state will actively direct the current processes by gradually expanding the scope and advantages of the economic regulators.

Practical experience also unequivocally confirms the **important role of leaders' resourcefulness, active stand, and initiative** in teaching the labor collectives how to master the economic regulators, in promoting and encouraging the collectives' working and creative enthusiasm on this basis.

In third place, we are dealing with the interests of millions of people, with the interests of every individual and every social community. We must all become well aware of the facts and understand that unless we "catch hold" of the interests of the individual worker, the specialist, the leader, the collective, and the social group, of the entire population, we will not be able to direct them, to inspire the will of millions, and win everyone's cooperation in restructuring.

In order to achieve this goal, however, we must cover the path from the interests of society to the interests of the organizations, enterprises, institutes, municipalities, townships, and so forth—to the interests of the individual; and vice-versa, from interests of the individual and of all our society.

Now we are greatly relying on the new principle of labor wages, of the piecework system, of internal cost accounting, of brigade and program organization regarding mobilizing personal interests.

Painful experience from the past shows that, in this connection, there are many remnants of formalism and bureaucratic methods to clear away.

In order to transform interest into a motor of social creativity of the masses, the following measures are required:

—doing away with leveling in the evaluation of labor results;

—overcoming liberalism by creating opportunities for a necessary differentiation in labor remuneration and in working incentives, while every citizen is guaranteed a minimum of social security for his existence;

—enhancing the rights of the labor collectives in determining and managing their own staff, in independently deciding whether they should support idlers or not;

—taking into consideration the interests of enterprises and economic organizations and, once and for all, doing away with unjustifiably removing financial resources and transferring them to a "higher level," and canceling debts, as practised by clients, suppliers, banks, and so forth;

—introducing a change in the evaluation of cadres at all levels in accordance with the principles of self-management.

It will be no exaggeration to say that, with small exceptions, every aforementioned task can be reduced to the requirement **that everyone should work in accordance with his rights, duties, and responsibilities.**

There is even more: Basic work in connection with mastering and directing interests—down below, namely, at the bottom of the pyramid—should be "accomplished" by the economic levers.

—In this connection I refrain from dwelling on interests outside the economic sphere, on moral incentives, and so forth, but they should always be considered, because interests comprehensively manifest themselves, with all their many-sided aspects.

To engage in scientific analysis, to be well informed, to demonstrate a sense of direct responsibility for the manifestation of interests and for guiding them in all places—this is one of the most essential prerequisites for turning these interests into factors which assist and promote restructuring. It represents an efficient method of involving workers in the restructuring process.

Fourth, introducing restructuring into the daily life of millions of people is organically linked to the development of socialist democracy.

Today it is of decisive importance to transform socialist democracy into a powerful lever of restructuring and, at the same time, through the restructuring process itself, to build up a new type of socialist democracy in our country.

We are talking about a type of democracy which is imbued with the vital strength and humanitarian nature of our socialist social system, democracy which reaches every individual and permeates the last nucleus of society.

The necessary prerequisites are being established for the successful accomplishment of this task.

—Based on the new economic relations in our country a **new distribution of power** is already under way in our society.

—The **organizational connections** between different links of power are already being established and implemented in a fundamentally new manner.

This new type of socialist democracy we are building is not based on the former, one-way hierarchy.

—Self-management organs of the labor collectives and of the people's territorial communities will be **developed from the "bottom to the top."**

—The rights, responsibilities, and duties of these organs will also be developed "from the bottom to the top."

—For this reason it is our supreme duty to consolidate and develop the **new connections and mutual relations among individual links of power** on the basis of the principle of self-management.

—The **competition of leading cadres** is required and it is necessary to nominate more than one candidate, as well as to engage in a real discussion about the candidates.

—It is necessary to promote honest individuals who are sincerely devoted to the people and to the cause of restructuring—Communists, united agrarians, and nonparty members.

It is necessary to establish **real prerequisites for discussion, for a free exchange of opinions, to practice sacred observance of the law and of the citizens' rights and freedoms, which have been granted to them by socialist legislation and confirmed by the Bulgarian Constitution.**

We must take advantage of the beneficial living conditions and the favorable atmosphere of socialist democracy, to **enhance the sense of mutual responsibility and support** for our people and for the social communities.

This is how, **in setting the task of building a new type of democracy, we actually began to implement what Lenin called "a transition to genuine people's self-management"—the transition from power in the people's name to power through the people.**

What does all this mean?

This means implementing a revolution in social relations "from the bottom to the top." Yes, this is a revolution in the true sense of the world, whose results we will realize from now on.

—This is a source of the revolutionary spirit and of a new political consciousness. It prompts the unanimous will of the people's masses to implement a radical change.

—This means a new type of participation by the people's masses in the historical process, confirming their importance as genuine creative forces of history.

As we can see, the new type of socialist democracy is distinguished by its comprehensive character; it encompasses all spheres of life—and the economic sphere, which is the decisive one—in particular; it creates a new type of social consciousness and determines new principles with a social impact.

—We are not just expanding democracy, **we are proceeding toward a real upsurge of this everywhere, wherever people live and work.**

—Having assumed the management of production, the managers who have been granted this right are directly interested in work of their own and of their collective.

—They are immediately concerned about the correctness of decisions adopted at higher levels, about the competence of the people authorized to adopt such decisions.

—There is even more: They are not only concerned but also have the right to exert control and to influence the work of links at higher levels.

In other words, democracy is becoming the cause and responsibility of the people themselves.

This is an innovation.

—This is why it is especially necessary to enhance the principle of electiveness: This principle should encompass not only the sphere of management in economic organizations and the development of high-level, local, and other representative organs, but also the administration of state-owned organizations and institutions, such as those in the scientific, cultural, educational, and social spheres, and others.

The new type of socialist democracy in our country cannot be implemented unless it is backed up by a legal basis, unless we ensure in a timely way an adequate legal "translation" of its basic requirements, unless we develop a so-called legal "grammar" of the new type of socialist democracy.

—This legal "translation" is an essential part of the practical measures and approaches adopted by the BCP Central Committee July Plenum.

There is even more: This part of the practical measures and approaches is of primary importance. We must deal with it seriously.

—This will be an important implementation of our country's further development as a **socialist state based on the rule of law,** it will represent an objective prerequisite for the people's real participation in self-management.

Numerous problems are certainly emerging with this initiative. I would like to call your attention to two closely related trends in our forthcoming work.

The first applies to the reform of the legal system.

—The successful implementation of restructuring in our society requires, in particular that legislation should be reorganized in conformity with self-management, in accordance with the economic methods of management in our national economic sector and in other areas.

—It is high time to **prevent our legal system from becoming increasingly complicated.**

In connection with the reform of the legal system, I would like to point out another significant factor.

What we need at the present stage is not only the adjustment of the existing legal system to the requirements of self-management.

We also need some new laws.

—It is necessary, for example, to adopt **a new law on people's councils and on local self-management.**

—A **code for the self-managing organizations** is required, to codify and systematize the basic and general rules of self-management in these organizations. The code should map out and define specific rules for self-management in various spheres, such as economic organizations, scientific institutions, organizations in the social sector, and others.

The second trend is related to restructuring in the work of law courts and prosecution organs.

The fact that **the activities of law courts and prosecution organs continue to be directed not against the causes, but against the results of antisocial actions, crimes, and other violations of the law** is of particular significance in this respect.

—In addition to this, it is necessary to **expand the scope of the activities of legal organs.**

—Numerous matters pertaining to the rights and legitimate interests of citizens, which are presently placed under the jurisdiction of administrative organs, including numerous control organs, and all sorts of commissions, should be "given back" to the legal organs.

Our society insists that law courts and prosecution organs should act in full accordance with the law.

The legal organs should truly act in the people's name and not in the name of a given institution, or a given individual.

—This is precisely why extensive glasnost should be applied to any attempted pressure on or interference in their activities, and such attempts should be immediately stopped, regardless of where they may come from—from local, central, state, or party organs—and regardless of the form in which they are practiced, no matter whether these are open or veiled attempts.

—Any attempt at pressure on and interference in the work of legal organs should be evaluated not only as a gross breach of law, but also as a violation of the norms of party and social life, and of socialist morality as a whole.

Preventive activities should play an appropriate role in the work of law courts and prosecution organs, as well. Without intensifying these activities, without increasing their efficiency, we cannot talk about restructuring in the legal and prosecution organs.

We must decisively increase and defend the authority of the socialist laws.

—It is necessary to strictly observe the following rule: We must not allow decisions of party, state, and economic organs at any level to contradict the laws of the country.

—It is necessary to form in every citizen and every social group respect for our laws, which means respect for the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

As is known, powerful organizations, which unite millions of people in everything related to their interests and activity, exist in our country.

—I mean the trade unions, the Komsomol, the Fatherland Front, and all other mass organizations.

Naturally, it is obvious that all those organizations, as a part of our self-managing society, must also restructure their activity in the spirit of the principles of the July decisions.

Simultaneously, we must take into account that the interests of man are different and comprehensive. Consequently, they cannot be regulated only within the framework of particular organizations.

Therefore a great number of organizations, which reflect the personal interests and inclinations of the people, exist in our country. Among them there are organizations of teetotalers, stamp collectors, book readers, film fans, and so forth.

—In this respect we have rich traditions of amateur cultural activity, cultural clubs, schools, and so forth. It is not by accident that we call ourselves "the republic of the amateur cultural activity."

—We cannot deny such associations the right to exist. Furthermore, such associations will multiply—some will vanish and others will be formed. This process is natural and necessary under the conditions of self-management.

This means that it is incorrect to oppose the establishment of amateur art groups, associations, and other amateur forms of people's activity.

However, we are an organized society, in which there must not be conditions of or reasons for anarchy, chaos, and demagogy.

Self-management and democracy have nothing in common with anarchy, chaos, and demagogy.

We are a socialist society and have socialist principles and lifestyles, which must be observed.

—Thus it is fully normal and legitimate to form such amateur cultural associations, unions, and so forth in the self-managing socialist communities, within the framework of these communities, and as their integral part, and not as closed and detached castes.

—Thus these amateur cultural formations could receive the necessary assistance and enrich the lives of the self-managing communities while they remain under the control of these communities.

In the fifth place, the role of the intellectual sphere increases even more under the present conditions.

The potential, which has been created in this area, allows us to pose here new fundamental tasks, and elevate our intellectual life to a new level.

—Recently, both the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers began to work out important issues related to restructuring the intellectual area.

—However, basic premises have still not been formed. Our attention was first directed toward restructuring the economy. We are yet to deal with the problems of the intellectual area, after which we will probably hold a BCP Central Committee plenum.

I would like to explicitly point out: **Regardless of our progress and successes, in this area we also face the urgent task of implementing restructuring in accordance with the requirements of the July concept.**

—It is true that deep changes have taken place in organizing our intellectual life. They were related first of all to the social-state and state-social principle, disseminating the cultural achievements of our country abroad, asserting new qualitative forms of reproducing and enriching the intellectual values, and so forth. However, we must now proceed further: We **must analyze our achievements from new positions, and decisively restructure them while preserving them in their specific dialectical form.** Let us take for example **the artistic culture**, an area in which we have valuable traditions and significant achievements. In this area life presents fundamentally new requirements, whose implementation can no longer be postponed.

It is now exceptionally important to create in this area a new organization, which will "introduce" culture to every house, neighborhood, village, city, and self-managing community. In addition, this task requires:

—To broadly facilitate the development of cultural activities in the self-managing social communities—the territorial units and labor collectives—where people are living and working, and turn those activities into an organic part of the communities.

—We now attribute special importance to searching for and asserting new forms of disseminating cultural values through the cinema, theater, and music; integrating the professional and amateur groups; freely forming creative collectives; and so forth.

—Simultaneously, the efforts must **not** be directed **toward the local** development of **all** intellectual values and activities, in which the population is interested, but toward giving the people the opportunity to increasingly get in touch with the best assets, created both in their village, neighborhood and oblast, and the other oblasts, Sofia, the entire country, and other states.

The time has come to overcome **the existing "feudalism" in constructing and utilizing the material basis of intellectual life.**

—Why, for example, not assert the **cultural clubs** in the settlements and municipalities as the natural center of intellectual life, and then place them under the general care of the territorial communities, the labor communities, and the public organizations?

—In comparison with the okrugs the oblasts are creating better opportunities to disseminate cultural values. These opportunities must be better utilized.

—We must preserve all theaters and other cultural institutions which now exist in Bulgaria.

Let me add a few more considerations.

When we speak about culture we have in mind not only the literature, music, and theater, their achievements, and their social efficiency.

—We also mean the information, the new need of information, and in this context, **the information policy.**

—This is so because the information methods and means are an important factor, which determines **the quality of thought, labor, and behavior,** and the image of man, the human communities, and society in general.

—This is so because not only science, culture, and education depend on information, but also every other sphere, and especially production quality.

In this area we need new thinking, a new approach, and a new material basis. Naturally, everything must develop on the basis of the formula concerning the **synthesis of science, information, and the computer.**

We need new visions and approaches to developing **our education.**

—We have modern concepts in many general issues of education. In certain aspects these concepts are already being implemented in life.

—However, it is necessary to further develop and enrich our concept with a view toward the new realities and to reaching a new quality of the educational process, enriching its contents, and connecting it with the needs of our society.

It is necessary to ensure the optimal contribution of science toward implementing the new model of socialism in Bulgaria. We must have a highly developed scientific sphere if Bulgaria is to be a highly developed country.

—This poses especially great responsibilities to natural, technical, and social sciences.

—Simultaneously, it is exceptionally important to have a mechanism of quickly utilizing world achievements in science, equipment, and technology.

—It is necessary to create a vital, flexible, and highly adaptive scientific system, capable of quickly reacting to the present and future needs of society.

I would like to inform the BCP National Conference that we will discuss and adopt a comprehensive document on further developing the scientific front in our country.

We will also discuss and solve the issues related to **restructuring the leadership of the intellectual sphere on the principles of self-management.**

—We are striving to consistently apply this principle with all the ensuing consequences.

—On this basis we will restructure the artistic-creative, scientific, and scientific-technical unions.

In light of everything which has been said so far, it is the task of the party and entire society to further increase **the role and importance of the Bulgarian intelligentsia in the processes of restructuring.**

—It is well known how inspiredly and selflessly the Bulgarian intelligentsia adopted the cause of socialism as its own cause, and how indebted our society is to its intelligentsia for successfully implementing in life the April line of the BCP.

—There is no doubt that now, in a time of restructuring, when all areas of life yearn for science, culture, and high qualification, our intelligentsia will be at the level of its vocation.

Of course, we note that if we are to succeed in this respect, we must solve certain problems, including some social problems, which are connected with the state of the intellectual potential of the nation.

The issue of intellectual values is an integral part, and to a certain extent, a champion of the party concept on restructuring the intellectual sphere.

While we direct our efforts toward constructing new people and new communities we must considerate those values, which will be the "soul" of these people and communities, and will determine their behavior and their attitude toward the world. I have no intention to develop the theory of this issue, a theory we have long been expecting from our social scientists.

Let me just share some preliminary considerations. It is very important now, both in the area of creating the intellectual values and their dissemination, to know **from what springs we will drink,** and where we shall obtain the faith and inspiration to create.

First, we know that our people were not born yesterday, and that it was not by accident that in recent years we rummaged through our entire history. We did this in order to reaffirm those progressive values, which we have been creating over the centuries, and which are our national capital.

Second, now, as we implement restructuring, it is not by accident that we again return to the revolutionary struggles of our party and the victory of our socialist revolution. This is so because we draw from them lessons, examples, and norms of life and service in the name of the people, man, and progress.

Third, while evaluating the cause of the July plenum as a revolutionary cause, we associate it with the April line of the BCP and with everything valuable and eternal, which we created as a people and party after 1956.

The deep change in ownership relations and developing self-management and democracy in society will produce a new quality of the system of values in society.

—**The socialist moral** will be further developed and enriched. This will be based on the preconditions of social justice, uniform and obligatory discipline for all, and, if you will, uniform norms, which will determine man's behavior in the new social communities.

—Restructuring will elevate our **socialist humanity** to a new level, because the care for man and his happiness and prosperity is the core of restructuring.

—There can be no doubt that by removing all conditions of human alienation from society and posing lofty goals we are enriching the patriotic feelings of the Bulgarian citizens and their **socialist patriotism.**

Naturally, when we speak about the values of socialism we must not forget **the basic and determining factors:**

—Regardless of whether we are speaking about production, relations of everyday life, the work of the mass media, or about something else, we must not and cannot retreat from the class-party approach and from the requirements of our Marxist-Leninist methodology.

—Everything we are doing is not only our national cause. While implementing restructuring in our country we remain loyal to our **international duty** toward the general cause of socialism, and make our contribution as a people and party to the triumph of our communist ideal.

In the sixth place, turning restructuring into an all-people cause poses new requirements for our political, ideological, and organizational activity.

Under the new conditions the role of the subjective aspect of human activity, as represented by the political, ideological, and organizational work, increases as never before. Also in this area we need fundamentally new visions, premises, and approaches.

First of all the tasks of the political work are very responsible.

We have reached the stage in which significant changes are taking place in the very character of political work. At the present stage we connect the political work first of all with the implementation of the principle of self-management. Everything, which we are relating to the sphere of politics and the political work with the people and for the people, begins with self-management, concentrates on self-management, and returns to self-management.

This is the new and main factor.

The new qualitative growth on the basis of self-management now becomes the criterion of political maturity, correct political approach, and high political culture.

The contents and directions of the political work are changing accordingly.

If we are to successfully lead the economy and all other spheres of social life we must remember the following:

It does not suffice anymore to consider the objective logical laws only on their national level, and only from the perspective of the national criteria and indexes.

The logical laws which are developing are of such a nature, that they directly affect the development and functioning of all structures of society. Subsequently, we need a new philosophy and premise on the conditions, which will guarantee the functioning of these logical laws.

Our socialist society is a planned society. Through its economic regulators we will further ensure such a development.

Now the new factor is that by guaranteeing the implementation of the general strategy we want to turn every self-managing unit into a system, which alone will work out its policy according to the general strategy. Therefore, through the implementation of this policy it will make a decisive contribution both to its own development and to achieving the common goals of society.

Now we can and must pose such a task, in all oblasts and regions of the country.

The powerful material-technical, cadre, and intellectual potential, which has been created, allows:

—Every territorial system to make its own contribution to working out and solving the issues of national development;

—This is so because, as is well known, the elements are born first of all in real life, in the practice, and in the experience of the millions of people. With a view to this we must simply part with the notion that party policy and its strategy and tactics are only the cause of the higher party forums and organizations, more specifically, the Central Committee, Politburo, and Secretariat.

—After the BCP Central Committee April Plenum we restored the principle of collectivity in the work of the party and its Central Committee. We also ensured the participation of all party organs and organizations in discussing and drafting important party and state documents.

—Now we must proceed further and ensure the collective contribution of entire regions, oblasts, and Sofia in developing and enriching party policy. This contribution must be expressed in developing and implementing important strategic decisions, which are to also consolidate as such at the national level.

—By saying this, and in the spirit of democratic centralism, we are not underestimating the role and responsibility of central organs in forming and conducting the national strategy. This role and responsibility will remain in the future great and unique. The main thing is to change the mechanisms of working out the national strategy.

—Therefore, we will create conditions of developing the initiatives and creative searches in the separate territorial systems, with which they will solve both problems of their own and of the entire country.

—There probably will be cases in which the local strategic solution, experience, or vision, whenever vital, well-grounded, and promising, could be elevated to the rank of national policy.

Therefore, our party policy will not only be a policy in the name of all the people and a policy of the entire party, but also a policy, which is being developed out and implemented by the all the people and the entire party.

This is the main factor in ensuring the mass attraction of the millions of people to forming the policy, and forming conditions under which they, the working people, will inevitably become participants in policy-making of national and local level.

In this context we must elevate the ideological work to a new level.

Now it is necessary to educate the people according to the principles of self-management, to reeducate all in the spirit of self-management, and on this basis, to strengthen discipline everywhere.

Education, self-education, and discipline—those are the main political factors in practically implementing restructuring through the party organizations and through the Communists who are working in the various spheres and units of management.

The ideological work must activate the efforts and will of the people to implement the restructuring, which we have undertaken.

This is from where the task related to restructuring the ideological-educational work springs.

—This relates first of all to the **contents** of our ideological-educational work.

—This also relates to the **forms** of its implementation. The present system of political study has become obsolete.

—This also relates to the **practical direction** of the political education and propaganda.

The changes in the **mass media** to which our party has always attributed an exceptional importance, undoubtedly have originated from the logic of restructuring, which we are implementing.

The new approaches to the manner in which the progress of restructuring in our country must be reflected and illuminated were determined at the 13th BCP Congress, afterwards, and especially at the BCP July 1987 Plenum. Those are approaches, which immediately affect the following issues:

—The dialectics of the new and old factors, the great justice, and the "small and subjective justice" [malkata pravda] in our society;

—The glasnost in the mass media and their party position related to the processes we are implementing;

—Developing the criticism of negative phenomena;

—Creating an atmosphere of optimism and happiness in the country and pride in our motherland.

It is obvious that these processes will develop and become richer, because the ideas of restructuring are not absolute truths, but subject to change. Our realism has nothing in common with illusions and utopia.

If we analyze the concepts from precisely such a point of view, it is obvious that the mass media must also undergo restructuring.

Undoubtedly, all issues in this area are important. This includes:

—the cadre issues;

—the issues of the material-technical basis; and

—informing the cadres in a timely fashion.

However, the main factor, as we pointed at the BCP Central Committee November 1987 Plenum, is to introduce changes in the social status and role of the mass media at all levels.

The role of solving this task passes through the **territory of self-management**. Consequently, in this area the issue is not only how the mass media illuminates self-management, but also becomes a part of the organic entire by, figuratively speaking, enmeshing themselves in it.

Profound changes are also necessary in the organizational activity.

Under the conditions of restructuring, it is necessary more than ever to deal with the issue of **the style of work.**

We need a fundamentally new concept on the style of work.

If we would like to give a general expression on all this we could say: **We are creating conditions of the construction and functioning of new types of social communities.**

Our elaborations until now not only raised this necessity, but also formed its main principles, the implementation of which will ensure the construction and functioning of the new communities.

Now it is necessary to take the next step.

In the final account the style of work is the "face" of every social community, organization, and the party. Their influence over the processes is determined by their style of work. The efficiency of their work with the people is also a matter of their style.

Therefore we must pay appropriate attention to issues related to the style of work.

IV. [Roman Four] The Party—Strike Force of Restructuring

Comrades,

The BCP has a decisive role in guaranteeing the success of the revolutionary restructuring of our society.

The party is called upon to be the strike force in implementing restructuring in all areas of life.

This mission is determined both by the character and role of the Communist Party as a party of the Leninist type, and as a vanguard of the workers class and the people.

—The most profound transformation of Bulgarian society—the victory of the 9 September 1944 Revolution—took place under BCP leadership.

—The party, led by Georgi Dimitrov, initiated the struggle for the construction of the new society.

The April changes in our society began with the party and logically developed into the cause of the people in the process of implementing the general BCP Leninist line.

There were also weaknesses in our social life during that period. However, we did not allow distortions in the development of inner-party democracy and our cadre policy.

—The party not only consolidated itself as the political vanguard of the workers class, but also developed into the party of all the people, a combat-ready and united party.

Now, under the conditions of restructuring, the BCP is leading and must continue to lead the renewing processes in our country.

—As we pointed out at the BCP Central Committee November 1987 Plenum, the party is in the real sense of the word a **guarantor** of the fundamental changes, which are taking place in our society.

—The party is the **prime mover** of the revolutionary ideas and proposals of restructuring.

—It is the **organizer** of the struggle for the qualitative renewing the socialist society.

Consequently, we firmly stand upon the Leninist premises on the character and role of the Communist Party in socialist construction.

—By announcing that the party is not and must not be a stage in the hierarchy of the state management and that it must not be the subject of state power, **we do not only revise the Leninist principles, but we also create possibilities of removing all deviations and deformations in applying these principles.**

By releasing itself from all its uncharacteristic functions the party will ascend even more as the political vanguard of the people and more actively demonstrate its leading role in restructuring.

Also under the conditions of self-management **our party has the responsibility and right to outline the strategy of our development and form the basic trends of the socio-economic development in the country.**

—The party will ensure **the cadre, political, and ideological preconditions of reaching the tasks, which have been posed to society.**

—It will guide the **educational activity** in accordance with the ideals of socialism and communism.

—The party will implement real **political control** over the implementation of the set trends on the country's socio-economic development.

Consequently, for us the real problem is not whether or not the party has the right to implement leadership political functions.

For us the problem is **what means and methods** will it use in implementing its leadership functions under the new conditions.

This is the source of the **requirement for a deep restructuring in the style and methods of party leadership and the party as a whole.**

We must decisively **relinquish the administrative methods,** and the party organs and organizations must not seize the functions of the state and economic organs.

The party cannot replace neither the elected organs of self-management or the self-managing communities.

The time for these "habits" is past. The party must implement its leadership role and its strategic and tactical tasks through the party organizations and the Communists, and through their activity in the labor collectives and territorial communities. It must be the vanguard of the labor collectives and territorial communities, and their ideological and political heart.

The change in the position, style, and methods of work of the state and economic leaderships is also important. They must relinquish the practice of insuring themselves with the opinion of the party organs and with party decisions, thereby making the party responsible for their activity. **Now it is especially important to consistently apply the political approach in the party leadership,** which corresponds to the principles of socialist-self management.

—The main factor of our political approach is to strengthen the link between the party and the people, and between the people and the party.

We must clearly understand that the sooner and better the party organizations, Communists, leading organs, and cadres of the party restructure themselves in accordance with the new conditions, tasks, and goals, the more successfully the party will implement its historical role in restructuring.

In this context I would like to inform the delegates of the party conference that **the Politburo has discussed and found it appropriate to introduce a mandate system in the party.**

It has proposed that the leading elective posts in the party, from the general secretary of the BCP Central Committee to the secretary of the primary party organizations, should be held for two consecutive mandates, and only as an exception for a third mandate.

This proposal was unanimously supported by the members of the Central Committee at the plenum, which took place just before the BCP National Conference.

What are the considerations which dictated this?

We are led by the Leninist principles and instructions about **the necessity of periodically renewing the composition of the party leading organs,** as a factor of its vitality and a factor of strengthening and increasing its combat ability as a political vanguard.

We also note the **precious traditions** of our party and its April policy concerning the cadres.

—The cadre policy of our party is **a policy of trust in and support for all cadres,** of combining the forces and possibilities of the various generations, of boldly promoting young cadres and uniting them around the general April line of the party.

—This is a policy of **timely cadre renewal in all echelons,** including the Central Committee and its Politburo.

Now we are elevating this policy to a new stage.

As I already stressed, we must take into account that the party is called upon to set the tone for the process of renewing society, which is taking place, and show that many things must begin from ourselves, from our personal example.

All this requires that we **develop and enrich our approach to the cadre policy.**

At the present stage we must proceed further, with a view toward ensuring a permanent renewal of the leading cadres. Their development and movement must become a natural and painless process. The cadres must not be allowed to stay in the same elective post for a long period of time.

—The introduction of the mandate system will also create better conditions of increasing the authority and responsibility of the cadres, as well as their education in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist principles and ideals.

We now need a new type of cadres and leaders.

—They must understand the essence of the new processes and phenomena, sense that they are subject to those who have elected them, and therefore, work as subjects of those who have elected them.

—The mandate system will allow us to better fulfill the high requirements now posed for the political, moral, and businesslike qualities of the leading cadres.

Today the party has at its disposal a sufficient quantity of trained cadres to be able to consistently apply the mandate system from the top to the bottom. —Obviously, this principle must be introduced in all sociopolitical and public organizations, as well as in the state organs.

In this context the question emerges of **whether it is expedient that the posts of general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and first state leader are not in the hands of the same person**—in this respect we also have traditions and experience.

—Now the very restructuring of the party and of the higher echelon of the government again compels us to return to this issue.

If the BCP National Conference finds all these factors to be correct they could be considered in preparing the amendments to the statutes, which will be proposed to the 14th BCP Congress.

As far as the higher echelon of state power is concerned, this issue will be fully solved in the amendments to the Constitution, on which the commission is now working, which has been especially created for this goal.

Comrades, **the task of accelerating the processes of democratization of inner-party life** acquires a special importance when we discuss the issue of restructuring the party.

—The new type of socialist democracy toward which we are striving, is impossible if inner-party democracy does not develop at an accelerated pace.

This issue is connected with further enhancing **collectivity and the collective principles** in the work of the party organs and organizations, and with creating and guaranteeing **democratic conditions** of fully taking into consideration the opinions of the Communists in the life and activity of all cells of the party organism.

—It is necessary to expand the **publicity and glasnost** in the work of the party organs and organizations, and create real preconditions of party activity at all levels to be open to the Communists and all working people, and to take place in front of everybody's eyes.

Is it necessary to convince ourselves how important it is now for the primary party organizations and party groups to turn restructuring into the personal cause and fate of every Communist?

—Is there anything more natural than the party members leading the struggle for developing socialist self-management in the labor collectives and territorial community, and implementing the strategic course for new qualitative growth, and increasing their vanguard role and strengthening their personal contribution to implementing party policy?

Many problems in the life and activity of the new local party organs—**the municipal and oblast party committees**—emerge in the process of restructuring. We are facing an intensive work related to solving these problems.

—Obviously, the basic task now is to **not allow deformations in constructing the structure of the apparatus** and to assert the elective organs as the working organs of party leadership.

The accountability-election meeting and constituent municipal and oblast conferences, which were conducted on the eve of the BCP National Conference, showed that **the Communists totally approve of the party course** aimed toward a new qualitative growth and the revolutionary restructuring of society. —They accept the implementation of this policy as a historical necessity.

However, as it could have been expected, **the ideas of restructuring still have not turned the political awareness of all Communists into a basic stimulus of their activity.**

This again shows us how great the scope is of the work we are facing in order to activate the entire party and turn its will and fighting ability into a decisive condition of implementing restructuring in all spheres of our social development.

I would like to point out that relations between the BCP and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union will develop further on the basis of the firm and consolidated communist-agrarian unity and in accordance with the new processes of developing our socialist society.

V. [Roman Five] Concerning the First Results of Restructuring and Our Determination To Complete This Deed

It is still too early to draw the complete balance of how the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the BCP Central Committee July 1987 Plenum have been implemented. However, the period since these events, albeit short, was dynamic and rich in content, and was saturated with strenuous theoretical and practical activity.

—Therefore, it is now important to correctly evaluate the work which has been accomplished, and make appropriate conclusions concerning our future work. **What do the first practical results of implementing restructuring show?**

First. Substantial work has been done in introducing the principle of self-management and restructuring the activity of the national economy on an economic basis.

—We have created socialist self-managing organizations.

—In the sphere of **material production** and in accordance with the new Labor Code we have already constructed the labor collectives' organs of self-management. The brigade leaders and the leaders of the enterprises, trusts, associations, and brigade and economic councils have been elected for the first time by secret voting.

—We have created production complexes and associations of a new type, which are already developing their activity.

—The Code for Economic Activity and a complete **package of normative documents** related to economy management, have been brought into force.

—We have developed a new fundamental method of **planning.**

—We have conducted a profound restructuring of the banking system. Many trade banks have been established at the associations, and they assumed the functions of monetary control over the economic activity.

—The restructuring of **agriculture** began in accordance with the new visions of elevating this key branch to a new qualitative level.

—We are at the beginning of a new upsurge in the **cooperative movement,** which is called upon to play an important role in restructuring and developing the possibilities of economic growth.

—We have begun to use better **collective and individual labor activity of the citizens** in producing additional trades and services.

The joint economic activity of our own and foreign organizations is strengthening on a new normative basis. This creates conditions of expanding our participation of our country in the international division of labor.

Second. A new territorial division of the country has been completed. It marked the beginning of profound changes in the character of the local organs of government under the conditions of self-management, and in their rights, responsibilities, and obligations.

Third. Important changes were conducted in the higher echelon of state government.

—We closed the former councils at the Council of Ministers and most of the branch ministries. A uniform planning-economic state staff has been established.

As you see, within a short period of time we implemented truly revolutionary transformations, which are already positively influencing the country's economic and social progress.

This has also been confirmed by the high and stable rate of economic development.

During the 2 years after the 13th BCP Congress **national income has increased 11 percent.** This development was exclusively a result of increasing the social productivity of labor.

—In 1986 and 1987 industrial production grew 8.5 percent. Such progressive and promising branches as electronics, robot engineering, machine building, the chemical and biotechnological industry, and so forth, developed in a most dynamic and stable manner.

—New articles and technologies were mastered and improved, and our production output was renewed.

Simultaneously, we must note that the activity of certain forces and tendencies, remnants of the extensive development are delaying the processes of renewal; the quality of many articles is unsatisfactory; some important types of products are not being produced. The contractual discipline is low.

—The **investment process** is being restructured too slowly.

—We still have not created sufficiently strong stimuli and a condition of "hunger" for **novelties,** and of interest on the part of the producers to quickly introduce the scientific-technical achievements.

There are positive results also in the area of social policy.

—**The real income** of the working people has increased. The average monthly wage reached 230 leva while the prices of basic consumer goods remained relatively stable.

—A significant part of **the pensions** have been increased, while **the public consumption funds** developed at a higher rate than that envisaged by the Law on the 5-Year Plan period.

—Thousands of **new apartments,** many **schools, kindergartens, culture clubs, and sports facilities** have been constructed.

—During the past 2 years of the 5-Year Plan period **trade exchange** grew 8.6 percent, and **consumer services**—15.8 percent. Gradually we created opportunities for positive changes in the balance between the population's purchasing power and the available goods. However, if we are to close the "gap" between them from a qualitative and quantitative point of view we must accomplish much more and overcome the existing deformations in labor wages.

Now, when we are drawing this balance, we must clearly understand that **we are at the very beginning of restructuring and the work related to implementing the party concept on further constructing socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.**

—We face a long and complex road of profound revolutionary changes in all spheres of social life, which will bring socialism in our country to a new stage of development.

The party and the people must overcome inevitable **difficulties** along the road of restructuring. A part of them will be connected with the **limited raw materials, other materials, foreign currency, and other resources** of the country. Another part will ensue from the changes in the **world economic situation.** A third part of our difficulties will be connected with **the state of the subjective factor** in the process of restructuring.

—The manifestations of lack of discipline, distrust, scepticism, and alienation of some people from public property and social life will halt our movement forward.

We must and will speak with the people and the party about our difficulties in a sincere and honest manner.

—The important thing now is not to allow these difficulties to "kill" restructuring.

—The important thing now is to implement by all means the 5-Year Plan. This will increase our resources, confirm the correctness of our way, and strengthen the faith and determination of the working people to defend and implement the party instructions.

We shall not kneel in front of the difficulties! We shall overcome them with discipline and self-discipline, labor, diligence, thought, and courage.

—We rely on the workers' class, agrarian workers, and the intelligentsia in overcoming the difficulties and implementing the the decisions of the July plenum. We have everything we need to do this.

First and foremost, in everything related to the domestic conditions we can firmly declare:

—Our party and people have the forces and potential to implement restructuring and fully put into effect the plenum's decisions;

—The problems are complex and difficult, but our society is capable of solving them.

Comrades, it is obvious to all of us that there is **a direct interdependence between the processes, which are taking place in our country and the international arena.**

International relations are developing now under the sign of two major events.

First, there are the processes of restructuring and renewing Soviet society, which deeply influence international life.

Second, there are the first results of the new political thinking and action, aimed at improving the international climate and laying the foundations of a peaceful future world.

—The growing understanding of **peaceful coexistence as an objective natural law**, which demonstrates the **unity and mutual dependence** of the contemporary world, is the great truth of international relations today.

Peaceful coexistence and cooperation among peoples today represent the only possible way of saving mankind and progress.

—To oppose this logical natural law means to play with mankind's fate. This has been understood by politicians and statesmen, scientists and writers, and millions of simple people.

Is not it an obvious truth that under the contemporary conditions we all are interested:

—Not only in our own **survival**, but in the survival of all countries and nations of the modern world?

—Not only in our own **security**, but also in the security of other countries?

—Not only in solving our own **ecological problems**, but in solving the ecological problems of every country on the planet, our common home?

Therefore **the new political thinking is not a political platform**, which we want to impose on the capitalist states. The new thinking is an historical necessity. It has a universal character and reflects both our interests and the interests of all people.

We greet the INF Treaty as the first real step toward a nuclear-free world.

—Our country supports the significant reduction of strategic offensive weapons, the reaching of the lowest possible level of global military balance of power, and in future—the creation of a world without weapons, wars, and violence.

Peace can become a reliable and lasting phenomenon only through the common efforts of all states and nations. There exist significant opportunities for **active initiatives not only on the part of the great and nuclear states, but also on the part of the small and medium-size countries.** In harmony with these possibilities the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making its contribution to renewing international relations on a modern basis.

Our relations with the socialist countries will continue to remain **the main direction of our foreign policy.**

The production, technological, and technical development of Bulgaria will take place first of all on the basis of **scientific-technical and production integration with the CEMA member states, and first of all with the USSR.**

—In this context it is necessary to coordinate our national economy and the economies of the other CEMA member states with the restructuring in the mechanism of cooperation and integration among our states, as well as in CEMA activities.

The fundamental coincidence of the goals, tasks, and directions of restructuring in Bulgaria and the USSR creates **comprehensive preconditions for elevating Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation to a new qualitative level.**

The fulfillment in stages of the **Long-Term Program** on Developing Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR Until the Year 2000, as well as developing and adopting **the concept** for the period until the year 2005 on this matter, will have an important role.

As you know, **our economy is open to the world.**

—Many governmental decisions have created and are creating conditions for most diverse forms of cooperation with the Western enterprises and companies.

—The concept of the July plenum—renewing technologies and equipment, creating possibilities for the trusts, enterprises, and so forth, to develop direct relations with their Western partners, purchase machines and raw materials, export their production to the world market, and so forth—opens these gates to mutual cooperation.

This also determines **our approach to the developed capitalist states**—an approach based on mutual relations as partners who are solving even the most complex issues through a dialogue of equals.

—They are partners who maintain stable political relations and strengthen their economic and scientific-technical relations on a long-term and mutually beneficial basis.

We need new approaches also to developing **cooperation with the developing** countries **in accordance with the real potential, traditions, and mutual interests.**

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is deeply interested in adopting the new political thinking in **relations among all Balkan states.** The Balkans are the cradle of ancient civilizations, which have made a unique contribution to human history. Let us take from our past and our present the factors that unite us and broadly develop mutually beneficial trade-economic and cultural relations on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

As you see: **The international situation as a whole benefits the implementation of restructuring, and reaching a new stage of socialism in Bulgaria. In order to utilize these opportunities it is necessary to restructuring the approach to our participation in international life.**

—In this context I would like to say again: Let each of us—workers, agrarian workers, scientists, and political figures—understand clearly that regardless of how favorable the international situation is, and regardless of how attractive we are as interlocutors, if we produce low-quality goods which cannot compete on the market, nobody will work with us just because of our beautiful eyes!

Comrades, **we have undertaken a large-scale cause, the cause of the entire party and the people.**

As we pointed out already at the 13th BCP Congress, everything we are doing is aimed at bringing our society to a new qualitative state. **One must sense this. Wherever one cannot sense this, it means that one is not working well. We must give a powerful impetus to the production forces, labor productivity, our entire social policy, and so forth. This is to be sensed everywhere, regardless of the difficulties.** And precisely because of the existence of difficulties we must do everything possible to overcome them and march forward.

—This is a deed which will remain in the memory of the history of the party, the Bulgarian people, and the construction of socialism and communism.

—Such moments in human history require selflessness, they require us to unite the efforts of all and transcend the ordinary and everyday level in the name of the great goal. Our party and our people are ready for this.

Pollution in Ruse; Romanian Group Arrives

AU082015 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian
5 Feb 88 p 8

[Ventseslav Tsolov report: "Fog of Chlorine and Acid"]

[Text] Ruse, 4 Feb—From the morning hours, the entire city was engulfed in a dense and grey cloud of chlorine and mineral acids with various degrees of concentration. This continued for several hours. Those citizens of Ruse who happened to be outdoors instinctively covered their mouths with handkerchiefs and scarfs, despite the fact that it was clear that this would hardly save them from suffocation.

In the schools the windows were closed, and physical education classes were cancelled indefinitely. The drugstores were full of allergic citizens who, while still standing at the counter, tried to open tubes of alergozan [name of medicine as published] and smear themselves with it. The unbearable itching, watery eyes, and painful coughing would have ceased if the wind had blown the fog away, but on that day the weather was fair.

Data received from Sofia's Committee for Protection of the Environment shows that the concentration of gases in the air was two-three times higher than the admissible norms. A working group from the Romanian plant has arrived.

Soviet Afghan Pullout Plan Praised

LD090944 Prague CTK in English
0819 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Prague Feb 9 (CTK)—Monday's statements of the Soviet and Afghan leaders, Mikhail Gorbachev and Najibullah, were "an energetic step towards a settlement in Afghanistan", RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

The paper said that the Soviet statement removes the last obstacles from the road to a political settlement and creates conditions for the next round of Afghan-Pakistani talks to be really the last. The paper praised it as "another proof of a sense of objectiveness and political realism" and noted that the same sense is expected from the other side, including the involvement of forces which have so far only resorted to weapons, in a peaceful construction of the country.

RUDE PRAVO noted that the grouping of seven so-called Afghan opposition parties, which have found refuge in Peshawar, Pakistan has the only common platform in its opposition to a political settlement, in terror, intimidation, destruction and killings while political thinking in the world is progressively and energetically developing.

The paper praised the Afghan policy of national reconciliation and said that the Czechoslovak people have received with sympathies both Monday's statements. "A major breakthrough in the chain of regional conflicts is at hand. If the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan has become an example worth being followed in other countries, then the joint Soviet and Afghan work for the solution of the sharp conflict around Afghanistan can be a far-reaching contribution to and instruction for a settlement in other hotbeds of tension, to ensuring stability and security in the world", the paper wrote.

Further on U.S. Official Whitehead's Visit

Meets Czech Dissidents

AU081052 Paris AFP in English
1038 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Prague, Feb 8 (AFP)—U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead met here late Sunday with members of the Czechoslovak dissident groups Charter 77 and the Jazz Section, Charter 77 announced Monday.

In a press statement, the dissident group added that during the "friendly" two-hour long meeting, Charter 77 members explained its aims and work on the human rights, cultural, social and religious situation in Czechoslovakia to the U.S. delegation.

Mr. Whitehead "expressed the appreciation of the U.S. Administration and people for the struggle for human rights carried out by Charter 77 for the past 11 years, as well as for that of other independent initiatives," the statement said.

The group's three spokesmen — Stanislav Devaty, Milos Hajek and Bohumir Janat — attended the meeting. Several other Charter 77 leaders, including author Vaclav Havel, Vaclav Benda, Vaclav Maly and Jan Stern were also present.

The leader of the banned Jazz Section, Karel Srp, who was freed earlier this year after spending 16 months in jail, also attended the meeting, along with U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Julian Niemczyk, the statement added.

Mr. Whitehead was due later on Monday to hold talks with Czechoslovak government and Communist Party officials before leaving for Brussels.

Holds Talks With Chnoupek

LD081504 Prague CTK in English
1425 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Prague Feb 8 (CTK)—A call for promoting the East-West dialogue was made during talks between Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead here today.

The two officials pointed out the positive changes which have taken place in international relations and stressed the importance of the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty.

While reviewing Czechoslovak-U.S. relations, they stated that progress had been achieved in a number of issues. They voiced the conviction that Mr Whitehead's visit will help promote bilateral relations, including economic cooperation and trade.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and John Whitehead also exchanged views on international topics.

John Whitehead arrived in Czechoslovakia on Saturday, within his tour of four East European countries.

Meets With Bilak

LD081822 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1600 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received in Prague today John Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state. They assessed the potential for the development of bilateral relations and exchanged views on the current international situation, particularly since the signing of the INF Treaty.

They agreed that in the interest of improving mutual relations, an open and equal dialogue is necessary. John Whitehead was also received today by Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek in Prague's Cernin Palace.

Received by Husak

LD081833 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Today at Prague Castle, Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, received John Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state, who is currently visiting Czechoslovakia. In their talks, the two discussed the development of bilateral relations as well as some issues regarding the world situation. They noted that despite the two countries' differing views, their relations have recently become more lively.

A sign of the improvement in bilateral relations is the many meetings of the two countries' representatives and the consultations on various levels which create conditions for deepening mutual acquaintances and understanding.

During their exchange of views, the two representaives welcomed the signing of the INF Treaty as an historic milestone in East-West relations. At the same time, they expressed hope that the disarmament process would develop further.

Ends Visit; Leaves for Brussels

LD082355 Prague CTK in English 1848 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Prague Feb 8 (CTK)—U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead met with Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak for a debate focusing on bilateral relations before winding up his visit to Czechoslovakia on Monday.

The two officials agreed during their discussion relations had recently improved between their countries despite continuing opinion differences, and said the two sides should continue their dialogue and look for ways of expanding bilateral economic contacts.

Meetings and consultations growing recently between Czechoslovak and U.S. officials proved bilateral contacts had lately been intensified and created conditions for further deepening of mutual understanding, they said.

Husak and Whitehead also welcomed the impact for the development of East-West relations of the Soviet-American Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty signed last December and expressed hope the agreement would be followed by further arms control measures.

Whitehead, who arrived in Czechoslovakia last Saturday, ended his visit later in the day and left for Brussels.

Jakes Returns From Visit to Poland

LD082324 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Milos Jakes, first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, returned tonight from a friendly working visit in the PPR at the invitation of Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council.

Milos Jakes was welcomed at the Ruzyne airport in Prague by Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Haman, Presidium candidate member and secretary of the party Central Committee; heads of departments of the party Central Committee Zbynek Sojak and Michal Stefanak; and Federal Minister of Interior Vratislav Vajner. [passage omitted]

Milos Jakes invited Wojciech Jaruzelski to visit Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

French Minister Speaks on Technology Exports

AU051510 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Feb 88 p 7

[Interview with Alain Madelin, French minister of Industry, Posts, Telecommunications, and Tourism, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Miroslav Courton: "Bilateral Will to Expand Cooperation"— in Prague "at the end" of Madelin's "1-day visit"]

[Excerpts] [Courton] Do you regard the volume, to date, of the trade exchange and cooperation between the CSSR and France adequate, corresponding to the possibilities of the two countries?

[Madelin] Both sides are willing to expand the cooperation between France and Czechoslovakia. The mutual trade exchange is balanced, but has to be accelerated. Therefore we have been working on the preparation of long-term agreements on scientific and technical cooperation in the past few months, and on a certain number of feasible agreements on industrial cooperation, which could play the role of locomotive in economic and trade cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Courton] Where do you see concrete possibilities of the further development of cooperation in industry?

[Madelin] There already exists the exemplary, smooth cooperation between Renault and your Avia [enterprise manufacturing light trucks]. However, we also have plans for expanding the cooperation further; in the long run, for example, with Citroen in the automobile industry.

[Courton] And in the sphere of tourism?

[Madelin] We have just signed an agreement with Cedok, which opens a broad range, for example, for the construction of hotels in Prague and Bratislava, facilities for winter recreation, and so forth. [passage omitted]

[Courton] What about prospects for joint Czechoslovak-French ventures? Do you consider their establishment to be a contribution, which corresponds to the two sides' economic and trade interests?

[Madelin] Yes. French enterprises and companies are interested in exporting their technology, their abilities. Czechoslovakia's interest, for example, is to increase accomodation capacities, especially in Prague. Thus there really exist exceptional possibilities in tourism, but also in trade, provided, of course, the Czechoslovak side is willing and interested.

[Courton] EUREKA, the project of Western European cooperation in top-of-the-line technology, was born in France. It is not restricted to the EEC countries alone. Do you think that there exists the possibility of the CEMA countries establishing cooperation within EUREKA's framework?

[Madelin] Generally speaking, EUREKA projects are open projects, and therefore I do think that it would be possible to take part in them. But the EUREKA projects originate on the initiative of industrial enterprises and companies, and the state supports them. Therefore, this or that possibility to participate has been seen from that point of view.

[Courton] How, in general, do you assess the course of your visit to Czechoslovakia, during which you were accompanied by a number of prominent representatives of French industrial and entrepreneurial circles?

[Madelin] I would say we are experiencing a new stage in our mutual relations. That is also why French industrialists arrived in such great numbers in Prague. I am leaving, they are staying on. [passage omitted]

Rohlicek on Restructuring, Parts II, III

AU081003 [Editorial Report] Under the headline "On the Comprehensive Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 January on page 3 publish the 4,000-word second installment of answers by Rudolf Rohlicek, CSSR first deputy premier and chairman of the Government Committee for Problems of Planned National Economic Management, to questions sent in by readers of the two party papers. On 4 February, on page 4 and under the same headline, the two papers publish the 4,000-word third and last installment of the deputy premier's replies.

In his initial statement in the second installment, Rohlicek reports on the planned amendment of the Labor Code as of 1 January 1989. He says that after the discussion of the amendment in the government, the media will inform the public about the planned changes and the reasoning behind them. Concerning the nature of the changes, Rohlicek only reveals that "no deterioration of employees' standing vis-a-vis their enterprise is contemplated; however, the amendment does foresee greater flexibility in changing jobs, and the like."

The next questioner, a pensioner from Prague, asks what criteria will be available to party organizations for them to be able to judge whether enterprises act in accordance with national interests. Rohlicek explains that the economic mechanism in its entirety and the whole set of instruments of financial, price, currency, credit, and wage policy is designed so as to ensure that "national interests are realized through socially desirable means." In addition, to meet priority targets such as state development programs, international commitments, state defense and security, as well as the consumption of some scarce products and commodities, the state plan will designate specific tasks for these areas. Finally, as party organizations will have their representatives in the enterprise self-management bodies, they will be able to influence decisions on all major questions concerning the operations of the enterprise.

Answering a question on the timetable for the restructuring of the enterprise sphere, Rohlicek then says: "The transition to new economic methods requires direct two-tier management. General directorates as intermediary links of management will be abolished. All proposals for the new organizational setup of the enterprise sphere for the whole of the CSSR will be comprehensively assessed and, not later than June, a decision will be made on the date of their implementation. We reckon that organizations, whose proposals it will be possible to approve, can become state enterprises effective 1 July 1988. Proposals that will require modification or reassessment or cases where the transition to the new structures will be more complicated (involving, for example, transfer from the jurisdiction of one sector to another) should be carried out in the course of 1989. The staff of today's general directorates will be integrated into the work process so as to make full use of their abilities and experiences."

As for the organizational restructuring of ministries, Rohlicek continues, it will take place in stages and will be preceded by a new designation of the functions and powers of the central agencies of state administration. This work should be carried out in 1988. Some (unspecified) changes in the sphere of state administration will reportedly be carried out in the course of 1988, other measures will be implemented before the end of 1990.

The next reader inquires whether a plant that would like to become independent may negotiate directly with its founder or whether it requires the consent of its superior agency, that is, its enterprise and general directorates. Rohlicek replies that proposals to set up a state enterprise may be put forward by central state agencies, national committees, general directorates of economic production units, today's national enterprises, as well as their structural units, that is, individual plants. These proposals must be addressed to the relevant minister or head of a central agency and, separately, to the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium. According to Rohlicek, the proposal of an individual plant does not require the support of the superior agency, that is, its enterprise or general directorate, but "the proposal is to be submitted along with the standpoints of the party and trade union organizations of the proposer." It is also necessary to furnish evidence that the newly set up state enterprise will be economically viable. The ministries and the government will then reportedly assess all these proposals "within the framework of the further course of action in restructuring the organizational setup."

Asked whether he perceives any threat of unemployment in Czechoslovakia, Rohlicek then replies that "in the foreseeable future" Czechoslovakia will not be facing the danger of shortage of work but only the problem of having to change the structure of employment. Although the economic mechanism will bring pressure to bear on manpower cuts, the released manpower can be used in the same enterprise, either to expand production or to operate the available equipment in several shifts. Should employees really be set free, Rohlicek goes on to say, they will be offered a new job (by their employer or their district national committee) and will be entitled to "requalification." Besides, labor productivity improvements in the manufacturing branches will reportedly also be used to create new jobs in services, retailing, health care, and similar sectors that are understaffed "compared with industrially advanced countries."

Replying to a question on the powers of the self-management agencies, Rohlicek says that they will not have the authority of a representative of the state administration but that their "powers will concern exclusively questions belonging to the jurisdiction of the enterprise." Thus, for example, in certain cases to be specified by the law decisions by the enterprise director will require the consent of the self-management agency. Rohlicek also specifies that there will not be any agencies of socialist self-management above the enterprise level.

Speaking about the impact of restructuring on individual sectors, the deputy premier then says that, although the organizational restructuring will affect all production and nonproduction branches, industry will be subject to the greatest changes. Other branches, on the other hand, will have the provisions of restructuring "modified in accordance with their specific conditions." For example, some provisions concerning enterprise funds and the tax system will reportedly be "adapted to the conditions of cooperatives" and in some branches, such as foreign trade, transportation and communications, and services for the population, including catering, there will not be any restructuring of wholesale prices. Rohlicek admits that "this can possibly cause certain deviations from uniform economic normative rules and other regulations."

In his subsequent reply, Rohlicek reviews measures foreseen under the new economic mechanism to foster competition among enterprises. He refers to the abolition of "unwarranted monopolies" by disbanding some economic production units having a monopoly position and to the exposure of those monopolies that are "economically unavoidable, in view of the size of the Czechoslovak economy" to greater international competition. He also reviews the provisions of the planned enterprise law on what will happen to those enterprises that "will not hold their own in socialist competition." In this connection he stresses that "in no case will these enterprises be liquidated in the capitalist sense" and that the "social guarantees" of the employees must be respected.

Asked about the timetable of transition to the new economic mechanism, Rohlicek then draws attention to the resolution on restructuring adopted at the December 1987 session of the CPCZ Central Committee, under which the principles of restructuring should be projected into the drafting of the Ninth 5-Year Plan (1991-95) and in which the period up to 1990 is labeled as "preparatory." He also mentions that, on the basis of the aforementioned CPCZ Central Committee resolution, the CSSR Government will "in the near future approve the Directives for Ensuring the Comprehensive Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism, Including Tasks of the Preparatory Period." This document, which is to be published in February 1988, will reportedly "contain a specific outline of the program for the phased introduction of restructuring."

Further on, in reply to the question of whether any new wage measures are planned to encourage the use of machinery in second and third shifts, Rohlicek says that the introduction of full-fledged economic accountability and self-financing itself will compel enterprises to make better use of modern machinery. He also says that it is within the power of organizations to pay extra bonuses to those working in second and third shifts, on top of existing special-duty payments for work in second or third shifts.

The next question concerns subsidies. Asked by a reader from Prague whether "the same conditions will apply to Czech and Slovak enterprises," Rohlicek says that the "orientation of the policy on subsidies will be uniform in our entire national economy" and goes on to reiterate its principles (elimination of "economically unwarranted" state subsidies; limitation of these subsidies to state development programs, ecology projects, future-oriented production programs, and retraining programs; and the provision of "temporary subsidies to cushion some repercussions in the area of prices, exports and imports, social structures, and the like").

In his concluding reply in the second installment, Rohlicek then discusses the impact of enterprise profits on wages. In this connection he says: "It can well happen that in a good enterprise there will be collectives that will not meet their tasks and will therefore rightly earn less. On the other hand, even in a poorly performing enterprise there will be collectives that will meet their tasks and will therefore earn more. However, in this case it is necessary to be prepared to face the fact that a poorly performing enterprise will not generate the planned profit and will thus not avail itself of sufficient resources to cover wages from the remunerations fund." At the end of 1990, the remunerations fund, which will be pegged to profits, will reportedly represent 10 percent of total wage resources, a proportion that should rise further in the course of the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

In the third and last installment of his replies, Rohlicek first answers a question on the guarantees for the success of the current economic reform. Stefan Pokorny, a reader from Kosice, asks: "We have already had several attempts at economic reform in Czechoslovakia. They failed, in my opinion, especially because the working people were not paid according to the quality and amount of their work, because key economic posts were not held by people who wanted to translate the changes into life, and because of the absence of radical action against bureaucracy and unnecessary red tape. How will these three problems be dealt with during the current restructuring?"

Rohlicek concedes that past attempts at economic reform in Czechoslovakia did not produce the expected results and attributes it to the fact that "the solution of the methods of management was divorced from the necessary implementation of substantive changes in the development of the economy." Moreover, he adds, "the attempted economic reform in the sixties was discredited by the fact that, in the end, it served more as a vehicle of reactionary forces in their struggle to seize political power and did not sufficiently respect the basic principles of the socialist system of management." Also, whereas past reforms often consisted of partial changes affecting only some sectors, it has now been realized that the "command management" can no longer be improved and that a "comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism" is inevitable.

Answering Pokorny's question on the solution of the first problem, Rohlicek then refers to the enterprises' new powers concerning the distribution of wage resources, which will "establish prerequisites for pegging remuneration more consistently to work results." With regard to the second problem, Rohlicek says that under the new system of management top executives will be subject to very effective control exercised by the labor collectives and thus compelled to implement necessary changes. Moreover, the selection of management workers will become stricter and they will be retrained to be able to cope with the tasks of restructuring. Finally, concerning the problem of bureaucracy, Rohlicek explains that restructuring provides for streamlining organizational structures, eliminating unnecessary administrative tiers, and simplifying management, all of which should result in fewer administrative activities.

The next reader inquires about the future of regional enterprises, which, as he points out, "have been 'patched together' only so that regional agencies could have economic partners." Rohlicek replies that such enterprises—regional service enterprises, for example, or some catering organizations—are examples of economic entities that are "devoid of mutual internal technological and economic linkages" and as such "conflict with the aims of restructuring." The management agencies of these entities represent "unnecessary intermediary links and will therefore be abolished, just like the general directorates of many economic production units."

In his subsequent statement, Rohlicek replies to a question on who will supervise the process of restructuring and the enterprises' transition to economic accountability and self-financing. He says that the exact deadlines of individual tasks, and those responsible for them, are set forth in the "Directives for Ensuring the Comprehensive Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism," which the CSSR Government approved "a few days ago, as its resolution No 29 of 1988." This document reportedly charges the Government Committee for Problems of Planned National Economic Management with coordinating the work on restructuring and with regularly informing the CSSR Government about the progress and results of this work. This work will also be subject to assessment by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. In addition, the "Directives for Ensuring the Comprehensive Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism," including all the tasks of restructuring and their deadlines, will reportedly be published in the course of February, which will place the course of restructuring under public control.

Rohlicek goes on to allay the fear of a reader from Hradec Kralove that restructuring might lead to an unrestrained inflationary development. He says that the development of prices will be planned and under central control and refers in this context to the planned restructuring of wholesale prices as of 1 January 1989, to the central fixing of prices for crucial products and commodities, and to the central determination of the rules for fixing prices, including rigid central control of compliance with these rules. He says that the so-called "free price fixing," that is, price fixing on the basis of an agreement between the supplier and the customer, will be expanded only "gradually" and that its application will be conditional on the existence of a "relative harmony between supply and demand" in a given group of products. Besides, Rohlicek continues, the revenues of enterprises and, by the same token, the incomes of employees will be regulated by normative rules derived from basic macroeconomic proportions of the plan and the state will also retain control, by means of the currency plan, of the amount of money in the economy.

The subsequent questions, too, express concern about the effects of restructuring. A group of party members from Zilina in Central Slovakia asks Rohlicek about the guarantees that "honest communists and not petty bourgeois careerists" get appointed or elected to managerial and party posts and a reader from Sumperk conveys his fear that the application of economic accountability and self-financing will "reinforce the tendency on the part of enterprises to give preference to their own interests over national interests."

Responding to the first concern, Rohlicek asserts that "the leading role of the party will continue to be consistently applied in selecting senior staff." He says that all the "cadre prerequisites" as outlined in the recently approved party resolution "on improving cadre policy" will be "comprehensively considered" in proposing senior staff and that subjective selection methods should also be eliminated by the use of competition for jobs and by the election of senior staff.

In his response to the second concern, Rohlicek concedes that there is "a certain internal contradiction" between enterprise and national interests. However, he continues, the entire economic mechanism will operate so as to "prevent this nonantagonistic contradiction from leading to a one-sided preferential meeting of enterprise needs." It will do so by establishing the principle that "if enterprises want to have more for themselves, they must also give more to society." According to Rohlicek, the central agencies will also be able to influence the "rational conduct" of enterprises by eliminating production monopolies where they are harmful and by retaining in its hands "directive instruments penalizing enterprises for antisocial economic activity."

A reader from Brno then asks why, to combat substandard quality production, the central agencies do not make use of their authority to order an immediate halt of such production. Rohlicek replies that "administrative measures by the center, no matter how good they may be, are not enough to raise the quality of products," adding that the new economic mechanism relies on economic incentives. It establishes conditions that make it economically worthwhile for an enterprise to improve quality, he says. Speaking about measures to combat substandard quality production, Rohlicek also mentions that at the beginning of 1988 the duty of additional transfer payments by enterprises to the state budget was introduced to compensate for losses caused by low-quality production.

In the next question, a reader from Hranice voices his skepticism about the new economic mechanism because "for the economic mechanism to function in the spirit of the Seventh Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, it is necessary, in my opinion, for supply to exceed demand, something which our economy cannot achieve." Rohlicek replies that it is necessary to anticipate that, in the initial phase, in particular, "the new economic mechanism will not operate under absolutely balanced conditions, with demand exceeding supply in a number of cases." He says that the central agencies will try to deal with such disproportions by economic means, particularly by means of wholesale prices and the credit, interest rate, and exchange rate policies, and that "some restrictive measures"—such as the imposition of limits on the consumption of some scarce commodities—should be "temporary." Rohlicek also draws attention to the responsibility of planners to ensure a balanced 5-year period. Commenting on the reader's view that supply must exceed demand for the economic mechanism to function properly, Rohlicek says that this would be only another disproportion and that there should only be "potential" excess supply, which can be mobilized if demand exceeds the planned or expected level.

In his subsequent statement, at the request of a reader from Mikulov, Rohlicek explains the conditions under which an enterprise can join the ongoing "Comprehensive Economic Experiment in Enhancing the Independence and Responsibility of Economic Organizations for Efficient Development." He says that under the government resolutions No 321 of 1986 and No 324 of 1987, every enterprise can become involved independently in the economic experiment, even if it is part of a larger organizational unit. All applications and proposals are reportedly assessed by a special commission of the State Planning Commission, which also consults the relevant ministries. Rohlicek reveals that by 21 January 1988, 60 organizations were involved in the comprehensive experiment in the CSSR, 41 of which were independent enterprises.

In his concluding replies, Rohlicek then reviews the economic instruments to be applied under the new economic mechanism to promote efficient structural changes in the Czechoslovak economy and explains some changes in accounting that will be made necessary by the greater independence of enterprises and the introduction of self-financing.

Press Conference on Religious Issues

AU051518 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
4 Feb 88 p 2

[CTK report: "On Topical Issues of Church Policy"]

[Text] Bratislava—At a press conference held in Bratislava yesterday [3 February], Vincent Macovsky, deputy minister of culture of the Slovak SR and director of the Secretariat of the Slovak Government for Church Affairs, spoke about topical issues of the socialist state's church policy in the current period. He noted the strengthening peace attitudes of clergy throughout the world and expressed appreciation for the activity of the Slovak SR's Pacem in Terris association. He said further that in the current period of restructuring some persons are becoming active, who are not at all interested in church or religion, but are fanning dissatisfaction among believers, organizing various pressure signature [natlakove podpisove] actions, and trying to disturb the atmosphere of good relations between the state and the church. V. Macovsky also recalled the recent talks on topical issues of mutual relations between the CSSR and the Vatican, which were held in the CSSR in the final days of January between a Czechoslovak Government delegation and a delegation of the Vatican headed by Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, apostolic nuncio and special emissary. The talks will continue in Rome at the end of this month.

More 17 Jan Activists Released From Detention

LD071328 Hamburg DPA in German
1303 GMT 7 Feb 88

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—In East Berlin today, further releases in connection with the arrests on 17 January became known. According to the church contact bureau responsible for this matter, Till Boettcher, 17, and Andreas Kalk, 19, have been free and in East Berlin since Saturday. Release of these two men into the GDR had been hoped for over the past few days. The two young men had been sentenced to 6 months in prison each by the Lichtenberg Borough Court for "attempted riotous assembly." The verdict does not yet have legal force.

The four young people who were arrested when protesting by hunger strike against the behavior of the state authorities are also said to have been released from custody and to have traveled to the FRG, church circles said in East Berlin. Thus, of the 22 known persons imprisoned in connection with 17 January, only Vera Wollenberger, co-founder of the "Church From Below" action group, is still in prison. Informed circles also expect her release.

Tisch Receives FRG Delegation

LD032354 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1744 GMT 3 Feb 88

[Excerpt] Berlin, 3 Feb (ADN)—At the invitation of the Transportation and Telecommunications trade union—under the GDR's Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB)—A delegation of the German Postal Trade Union (DPG) executive—under the FRG trade union federation DGB—headed by DPG chairman Kurt van Haaren is visiting the GDR. The FRG trade unionists were received on Wednesday by FDGB National Executive Chairman Harry Tisch for a talk. During the exchange of views, which took place in an open and comradely atmosphere, issues relating to the securing and preservation of peace and the strengthening of relations between the trade unions of the two German states on the basis of good-neighborly relations between the GDR and the FRG were discussed. Both sides paid tribute to the importance of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the removal of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles and described it as a historic step on the path toward a nuclear-free world.

Harry Tisch explained the varied efforts of the GDR to effectively support arms reduction. In this connection he pointed to the GDR's proposals as set out in the letter of the general secretary [passage indistinct].

In view of the manifold complicated problems of current world developments, the strengthening of exchanges of ideas and experiences between the trade unions of the two German states is of great importance. This should take place on the basis of the agreement between the FDGB and the DGB. During the talk, Harry Tisch informed his guest about the many tasks faced by the trade unions as representatives of the interests of workers in the GDR and on their comprehensive rights in the further shaping of developed socialist society. The implementation of the exacting targets of the 1988 economic plan made great demands of trade union work in all sectors. The aim of trade union work in the GDR, Harry Tisch said, is to do everything for the good of the workers, for the further shaping of socialist democracy, and the securing of peace. Kurt van Haaren stressed the important role played by the DPG as the representative of the interests of those working in the German Federal Post Office.

They saw what had been achieved in the past threatened. At present, the privatization and reorganization plans of the FRG Posts and Telecommunications minister represents an acute threat to thousands of jobs and training places in the federal post office. The DPG sees its main task as counteracting the continuing high unemployment in the FRG. The trade union chairman set out how the DPG understands the appeal of the DGB to take part in protest actions against unemployment and social welfare cutbacks under the motto "Work for All, Justice for All, Act Together." Kurt van Haaren expressed his satisfaction about the good relations which have developed over the years between the German Postal Trade Union under the DGB and the Transportation and Telecommunications trade union under the FDGB. [passge omitted]

Algerian Legislative Delegation Pays Visit

Welcomed by Sindermann

LD071730 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1537 GMT 7 Feb 88

[Text] Berlin, 7 Feb (ADN)—A delegation of the Algerian National People's Assembly headed by President Rabah Bitat, member of the FLN Party Politburo, arrived for a visit of several days in the GDR on Sunday. The deputation accepted an invitation from Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo who welcomed his guests at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport.

The deputies (Abbes Silmi), chairman of the Agriculture and Irrigation Committee; (Abdelwahab Bakelli), spokesman of the Agriculture and Irrigation Committee; and Dr (Nourredine Harriche); and other dignitaries are among the members of the delegation.

Meeting Goals Outlined

LD090736 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1740 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Berlin, 8 Feb ADN—Relations between the GDR and Algeria are developing successfully and dynamically. Horst Sinderman, president of the People's Chamber and SED Politburo member, and Rabat Bitat, president of the National People's Assembly of Algeria and member of the FLN Politburo, stated this in Berlin today.

Sindermann gave a briefing on the results and tasks in fulfilling the resolutions of the 11th SED Party Congress. In the foreground is house construction as a central piece of the social policy program. The course of the unity of economic and social policy is being fulfilled successfully. Sindermann pointed out the annual income increased by 4.5 percent annually since 1970 and labor productivity increased by 6 percent a year on average. The multilateral development of socialist democracy is, according to the president of the People's Chamber, the force and lever behind social progress and the further shaping of the developed socialist society. In the constituencies 230,000 deputies take care of trusting contact with citizens to raise economic performance and improve of living and working conditions.

President Rabah Bitat said that the delegation he led hoped for fresh impetus from talks and meetings with working people and leading figures in the GDR for the deepening and further extension of bilateral cooperation.

This morning the Algerian parliamentary delegation laid a wreath at the memorial for the victims of fascism and militarism.

In the evening Horst Sindermann held a reception in honor of a delegation from the Algerian National People's Assembly. At the start Horst Sindermann and Rabah Bitat gave toasts. In these they paid tribute to the successful development of relations between their states.

Agreement Welcomed

LD090931 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1822 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Berlin, 8 Feb (ADN)—Dr Herbert Krolikowski, secretary of state and first deputy GDR foreign minister, and Rabah Bitat, president of the Algerian National People's Assembly, have welcomed the conclusion of the agreement between the USSR and the United States on scrapping of intermediate-range missiles. The path of reducing armaments, particularly nuclear armaments, must be continued in order to improve the international situation in the long run, the two politicians stated in Berlin on Monday.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that concurring views existed on all important issues of international affairs, including the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. They condemend the terror against the Palestinian people in the Israeli-occupied territories, and they demanded a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem. Dr Herbert Krolikowski and Rabah Bitat spoke out in favor of the speediest possible convening of an international Middle East conference under UN auspices with the equal participation of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The two sides stressed that bilateral relations are developing in a successful and dynamic manner. Political dialogue and cooperation have reached a high level. They agreed to continue to expand cooperation in all spheres.

Kadar Visits Budapest Party Committee

LD090428 Budapest MTI in English 2022 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, paid a working visit to the Budapest Party Committee on Monday. He was accompanied by Janos Lukacs, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee.

The general secretary of the party was welcomed at the headquarters of the party committee by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Political Committee and first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, and Tibor Zathureczky, secretary of the committee's apparatus.

Janos Kadar pursued a thorough, open exchange of opinions with the leading members of Party Committee on the topical questions of the party's life: on the leading role of the party, on the further development of the political system, on the experiences of the debates over the ideological theses, the work of the party organs and organizations, the Budapest communists' work serving the social-economic advance, on the political questions which concern the party members.

Pal Ivanyi, member of the Central Committee and president of the Metropolitan Council, also participated in the consultation.

Kadar, Central Committee Greet Apro on Birthday

LD090019 Budapest MTI in English 1735 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, HSWP General Secretary Janos Kadar greeted in a letter Antal Apro, member of the HSWP Central Committee, president of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society and retired speaker of the National Assembly, on the occasion of his 75th birthday. The letter was handed over by Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, at the CC headquarters on Monday.

The greetings and the present of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have been forwarded to Antal Apro by Boris Stukalin, Soviet ambassador to Hungary.

Marjai Holds Aktiv on Trade Ministry Tasks

AU081152 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Jan 88 p 1,4

[Unattributed report: "Jozsef Marjai on Ministry of Trade Tasks—As of 1 April It Will Function With a New Organization"]

[Text] Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of trade, held an aktiv on 29 January 1988 with the leading staff of the Ministry of Trade and representatives of the public organs on the main tasks of the new ministry and the course of its organization on 29 January 1988.

Marjai stressed that establishing the uniform Ministry of Trade is an important element in further developing and renewing government management. The basic goal of the reorganization is to accomplish a more uniform and efficient management of the foreign economy processes as well as processes concerning the turnover of goods on the domestic and foreign markets. Thus the issue is not simply to combine the activities carried out so far. Within the governmental division of labor, the role of the Ministry of Trade will be more complex than the roles of the former ministries of domestic and foreign trade, the market-supervising activities of the National Material and Price Office, and the role of the Committee of International Economic Relations in coordinating international relations; the new ministry should basically operate as a managing organ that carries out functional tasks.

Within the framework of economic policy, the new ministry will supervise the coordinated implementation of foreign economy and trade policies. By developing market relations, it will be possible to implement more balanced and systematic processes concerning turnover of goods, in coordination with economic policy goals. In addition to its commercial activities, the ministry will control the management of tourism and consumer services and will function as a market supervising organ with national authority.

The basic task of the new organization will be to develop market processes and competition, establish the conditions required for this, and practice central market supervisory jurisdiction. In the present situation the ministry should also be prepared to promote the strengthening of foreign and domestic balance relations and assert the goals set by its structure policy, by means of thoroughly considered measures of economic organization.

The organization of the new ministry should be developed on the basis of the government's tasks. A general staff will be required which will be able to integrate domestic and foreign market processes within a uniform theory; have an overall grasp of the activities concerning the development of planning, regulation, foreign economy, and commercial policy; and have the adequate capacity to implement the goals aimed at establishing a uniformly functioning market and supervise the activities of those who are present on the market.

A highly qualified professional apparatus is required to implement the increased tasks; its staff should have the ability to work independently and the capacity to take a comprehensive view. It should also be suitable for operationally carrying out the conceptual but disciplined administrative tasks. Professional know-how and the knowledge of the goods and the market which accumulated within the former organizational framework are essential for this.

The minister of trade gave information concerning the pace of the organizational activities. Coordinating talks are currently under way with the partner ministries on the concrete division of the governmental tasks, cooperation, and the system of relations. At the same time, comprehensive organizational work and defining the precise activities and tasks that the new ministry will carry out have also begun; a recommendation concerning organization will be made later on this basis. This recommendation will be debated within the framework of comprehensive exchanges of opinions and consultations with the elected bodies and state and public organs.

The government will confirm the new ministry's tasks, authority, organization, and staff in the second half of March 1988. The aim is for the ministry's new and integrated organization to start work as of 1 April. A basic requirement is that there should be no obstacles in the implementation of its tasks during the process of reorganization.

Kisz Central Committee To Reduce 'Apparatus'

LD081515 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] It has been announced that the Communist Youth League (KISZ) Central Committee is to reduce its apparatus by one-third. Presumably this measure is intended in part as an example. But let us hear what lies behind it. Imre Nagy, secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, is interviewed by Gyoergyi B. Kiraly:

[Begin recording] [Kiraly] Who are the people to be dismissed? Are they clerical workers or members of the political staff?

[Nagy] So far only the decision has been reached to reduce the Central Committee's apparatus by one-third. The measure will affect mainly the nonpolitical apparatus, but not the technical staff. After all, it will still be necessary to heat the building, the custodians will still be needed. About one-third of those affected will be members of the political staff.

[Kiraly] And can we expect any changes at the top of the apparatus? Will the six secretaries stay in their posts?

[Nagy] It is part of the decision that we wish to reduce the number of secretaries by one.

[Kiraly] What caused this decision at this time? Did you want to set an example?

[Nagy] Yes, this was one of the reasons. It is perfectly true that up to now 300 of us worked in the Central Committee apparatus and now there will only be 200. This is not a very large figure. But there were other reasons beside the desire to set an example. One of these is that last autumn our Central Committee decided on the path to be followed, and it determined that it was necessary to strengthen primarily those spheres which are in direct contact with young people. This is the level of branches and towns. It is necessary to redeploy people and money from the higher levels, the Central Committee level and the county level, to these lower levels.

[Kiraly] Does this mean that the money saved as a result of the redeployment will be handed down to the local apparatus?

[Nagy] Yes, at least the larger part of it.

[Kiraly] What proportion will go to the counties, the town, or district apparatuses?

[Nagy] None to the counties. This is our firm intention. Only the town, district, and local KISZ committees will benefit. I cannot yet give a precise percentage; we have not yet decided on this. But the bulk of the money saved, about 90 percent, will go to these areas. [end recording]

Budapest People's Control Committee Tasks

AU081153 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 2 Feb 88 p 3

[MTI report: "Management of Manpower, Substitution of Imports—The Planned Investigations of People's Control Officials in Budapest"]

[Text] In the course of the 11 inspections planned by the Budapest People's Control Committee [FNEB] for 1988, the officials will, among other issues, attempt to find answers for timely questions like the extent of the influence of individual income tax on the wage policy of the enterprises, the methods used by the economic units to define net income, and the way wage and income components of various forms of payment were taken into account during the shift to the new wage system.

The ministries' sphere of direct management decreased with the increase in enterprise independence. Therefore, efficient internal control is particularly important. By examining internal enterprise control, the FNEB will investigate in what way this control is assisting enterprise management in preparing decisions, implementing decrees and internal measures, and protecting public property.

Another investigation will also deal with the efficiency of the control activities. From the point of view of protecting consumers' interests, it is important to know the extent to which the network control activities of the trade enterprises are able to eliminate practices of corruption and cheating consumers.

The increase in the price of basic materials and the limitations on imports gives justification for the FNEB to put the subject areas of efficient material consumption and technological modernization—with particular attention to processing and using synthetic materials—on its agenda this year, too. The substitution of imports, comprehensive use of synthetic materials, substitution of conventional structural materials, and utilization of synthetic material wastes are still not adequate at present, either. In addition to the price of materials, enterprises also spend a lot on energy. Therefore, the FNEB will also investigate this year whether enterprises have switched to using cheaper energy materials and more efficient installations.

In addition to reducing material and energy consumption, another key issue for enterprises is to employ only essential staff.

The FNEB will further investigate the extent to which the new tax, wage and income regulation forms, and export incentives contribute to competitive and flexible entrepreneurial behavior in the building industry.

The FNEB will also deal this year with the situation of endangered youth and form an opinion on the extent of the success in discovering these youth and giving them financial, medical, and educational support. The FNEB officials would like to know whether the cooperation between local council departments, educational institutions, and the family is adequate and to what extent this support is continuous.

Briefs

Taxing Personal Assets

[Text] In our homeland, taxpaying citizens can make voluntary declarations of assets until the end of March. On the documents necessary for this, which will appear in the coming days, real estate, personal property exceeding 100,000 forints, private cars over 1500 cc, and works of art must be declared. It is not necessary on the declaration of assets to account for the source of the valuables, but the tax office will examine whether the real estate and personal property are indeed possessed. The completed declarations will be used in the case of assets having to be accounted for. The tax office can oblige anyone to account for how much his assets have increased since January this year. Anyone who does not complete a voluntary declaration of assets can be made to account for the source of of his valuables going back 5 years. If it transpires that the citizen has been paying too little tax on the money calculated on the basis of increase of assets, the tax office will oblige the difference to be paid. [Text] [*Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 7 Feb 88 LD*]

Record Income From Tourism

[Text]Turnover from Hungarian tourism broke a record in 1987: Income from tourism amounted to $555 million and 442 million transferrable rubles. Some 19 million foreigners crossed Hungarian borders and almost 12 million came as tourists. Some 23 percent of the tourists came to Hungary from non-socialist countries; this figure is 30 percent higher than the 1986 figure. In comparison to 1986, there was a 52 percent increase in Hungary's dollar income and a 14 percent increase in its ruble income. From among the socialist countries, most of the tourists arrived from the CSSR (4.9 million tourists), and Hungary hosted 3.3 million Polish and 1.6 million GDR tourists. Some 2.2 million came from Yugoslavia in 1987. Most of the Western tourists, 3.3 million people, this year came from Austria, 1.1 million from the FRG, but many also came from Italy, the Netherlands, Finland, the United States, and Canada [Excerpt] [*Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 30 Jan p 4 AU*]

Oil Trucks for Egypt

[Excerpt] Following a detailed briefing session,the Arab Republic of Egypt decided to accept the bid of the Raba Hungarian Carriage and Machine Enterprise in Gyor from among the bids that were received from various countries of the world, and buy trailer trucks for oil transportation from the Raba enterprise. The required 40 units of S16-type trucks were completed at Gyor on time and with the employment of special security measures, shipped to the other side of the Mediterranean; the vehicles have already arrived in Alexandria. The manufacturers considered the requirements of the Egyptian order and took the trucks' destination into account when solving, for example, fire security problems. The truck's exhaust system is covered by a casing, and the vehicles' electrical system is fitted with a dual main switch.[Excerpt] [*Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Feb p 3 AU*]

Gorbachev Remarks on Afghanistan Welcomed

LD091133 Warsaw PAP in English
1030 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 9—TRYBUNA LUDU today hailed Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan as a "new significant step of the Soviet Union which is aiming at a decisive and quick ending of the Afghan civil war". The daily wrote:

"Like the whole international public opinion, also the Polish one welcomes Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan with deep satisfaction and supports it. We perceive the statement mainly as a sign of the new political thinking of the Soviet leadership. After the Washington summit, it is a new convincing manifestation of the dynamic, peaceful foreign policy of the USSR.

"That is why the statement is good news, not only for Afghanistan and the Soviet Union but also for the entire world."

Further on Visit of U.S.'s Whitehead

AU081234 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
4 Feb 88 p 2

["Wojciech Jaruzelski Receives U.S. Deputy Secretary of State"— PAP headline]

[Text] On 3 February State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski received U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead, who is visiting Poland.

During the talks, which took place in a businesslike and frank atmosphere, they exchanged views on key issues in relations between the PPR and the United States and recognized the need for a further improvement in relations and their full normalization, which lies in the interests of both sides.

During the conversation much attention was focussed on fundamental problems in the international situation and ways in which it can be improved.

The meeting was attended by Tadeusz Olechowski, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and John Davis, U.S. charge d'affaires.

Final Day of Visit

AU081235 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
4 Feb 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Final Day of John C. Whitehead's Visit"]

[Text] On 3 February John C. Whitehead ended his 5-day visit to Poland. He left our country on Wednesday, having been seen off by Tadeusz Olechowski, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

John C. Whitehead met journalists just before his departure. Thanking his hosts for their hospitality and his fruitful 5 days in Poland, he pointed out that this was his second visit to our country and that each of the visits had helped to improve Polish-American relations. He stressed that the Warsaw talks, including his 2 and 1/2 hours of talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski, which he described as sincere and open, were a continuation of the talks that were begun in January last year. He said that these meetings and talks assisted the process of finding mutual benefits. This has found expression in the announcement of a meeting of the joint trade commission in the near future and, in terms of political contacts, the invitation that has been extended to Minister Marian Orzechowski by Secretary of State George Shultz.

J. C. Whitehead referred to the Polish program of economic reforms and expressed support for it.

Economic issues occupied an important place in the questions that were put to J. C. Whitehead. The assistant secretary of state said that one of the basic topics under discussion at next week's Warsaw meeting of the joint trade commission would be the possibility of reducing restrictions on Polish exports to the United States. He said that the United States realizes that the success of Polish plans for improving the state of the economy depends on exports to a very great extent. Much also depends on Polish economic performance and, he said, the Polish economy must make greater efforts to obtain export markets.

Replying to a question on the possibility of obtaining new credits, J. C. Whitehead replied that this depends on progress in negotiations with the IMF over the next few months.

The assistant secretary of state was also asked about prospects for disarmament, following the signing in Washington of the agreement on the elimination of short- and intermediate-range missiles. He said that this marked a very important step in the disarmament field. He said that he hoped that this would be followed by the signing in Moscow of a treaty on reducing strategic weapons. He went on to say that negotiations were at an advanced stage and that prospects for reaching an agreement had never been better.

J. C. Whitehead said that one of the topics discussed during the Warsaw talks was the Jaruzelski Plan, which concerns reductions in conventional weapons in central Europe. We view the plan with interest because it lies in the interests of the states of Europe and, in a wider sense, in the interests of disarmament. The time will come when the Jaruzelski Plan is a focus of interest. We cherish much respect for the plan and we will encourage the states that would be involved in its implementation to discuss it.

CSSR's Jakes Official Visit Noted

First Round of Talks

LD081917 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Milos Jakes and Wojciech Jaruzelski left directly from the airport for political talks.

At the palace in Otwock Wielki the Polish and Czechoslovak leaders devoted much attention to the processes of restructuring, economic reforms, and to the development of socialist democracy.

After the end of the first round of talks, we asked Milos Jakes and Wojciech Jaruzelski to comment:

[Begin recording] [Jakes in Czech with superimposed Polish translation] I am pleased that Comrade Jaruzelski invited me to visit Poland, so we can exchange views concerning activity in contemporary conditions.

So far we have discussed bilateral problems, and informed each other of the work undertaken in both our parties and states and of our efforts in the cause of restructuring [pol przebudowa].

I would like to say that we have much in common in our approach to this issue. Particularly as far as involving a broader strata of the community in implementing the tasks mapped out by the congresses of both fraternal parties is concerned.

[Unidentified correspondent] General, may we ask you to say a few words.

[Jaruzelski] It's easier for me because I agree with everything Comrade Jakes just said. I can add that I am very pleased by this visit. It allows us to exchange views, to exchange experience, to confirm our traditional friendship, and at the same time to exchange contemporary evaluations aimed at consolidating our countries in the development of socialism, at the acceleration of all those processes that are taking place both in Czechoslovakia and Poland.

We are still holding talks. We will continue them. And I am convinced they will be fruitful, useful, and that they will well serve our nations, our countries.

[Correspondent] Thank you, very much gentlemen. [end recording]

Further Report

LD081551 Prague CTK in English 1523 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw Feb 8 (CTK correspondent)—Shortly after his arrival here, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes held talks with first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The two representatives discussed the fulfilment of the conclusions of the 17th Czechoslovak Communist Party and the 10th Polish United Workers Party congresses and the implementation of the long-term program of development of Czechoslovak-Polish economic, scientific and technical cooperation until 2000 signed in May 1986. They also dealt with the possibilities of expanding cooperation between their parties and countries also in other spheres.

They confirmed full support for the Soviet peace initiatives expressing the interests and efforts of the socialist countries to preserve peace and achieve an improvement in international relations.

Warsaw Report of Visit

LD081905 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] The friendly, working visit to Warsaw by Milos Jakes, general-secretary of the CZCR Central Committee, is drawing to a close. He held talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski in Otwock Wielki near Warsaw. Details of the Polish-Czechoslovak talks will be given in a joint communique.

Let us stress that the visit to Poland is the second foreign trip by the newly chosen general secretary of the CZCP Central Committee. It takes place during a period of economic and social change in Czechoslovakia and of economic and political reforms in Poland. Let us add that our countries are linked by close cooperation in all areas. Trade exchanges this year between Poland and Czechoslovakia will come to over 3 billion rubles.

'Press Release' on Visit

LD081915 Prague CTK in English 1834 GMT 8 Feb 88

["Excerpts From Czechoslovak-Polish Press Release"—CTK headline]

[Text] Warsaw Feb 8 (CTK correspondent)—The working visit by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes to Poland was marked by the identity of views on all issues discussed, said a press release issued here today.

The press release was issued at the conclusion of a one-day working visit by Milos Jakes to Poland at the invitation of First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party and Chairman of the State Council Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The two representatives paid special attention to the process of restructuring, economic reforms and the development of socialist democracy. Both sides expressed the conviction that the creative measures taken by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries serve the strengthening of socialism, improvement of the living and working conditions of the people and world peace.

Milos Jakes and Wojciech Jaruzelski appreciated the expansion of cooperation between the parliaments, government institutions, political and social organizations, mass information media and cultural and scientific bodies of their countries. They expressed full support for the further development of all forms of relations contributing to closer ties and expansion of friendship of the Poles, Czechs and Slovaks.

Dealing with economic cooperation, Milos Jakes and Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed the need for a substantial acceleration of the development of higher and more effective forms of cooperation-industrial cooperation and specialization, joint investment programs and establishment of joint ventures. They also discussed questions concerning an improvement of the activity of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the press release said.

Milos Jakes and Wojciech Jaruzelski confirmed that the results of the Gorbachev-Reagan summit in Washington and especially the signing of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty have created significant prerequisites for the strengthening of positive changes in international relations, especially in relations between the East and West, the Czechoslovak-Polish press release said.

They expressed concern over the views of those western circles which demand the strengthening of the potential of conventional and tactical nuclear weapons to compensate for those nuclear weapons which are to be eliminated.

They stated that the questions of security must be Poland and Czechoslovakia with the aim to strengthen security in Europe through arms reduction and confidence-building measures in central Europe, including the creation of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

Both sides stressed that the unconditional recognition of the definitive character of frontiers is the basic condition for peace, security and cooperation in Europe as well as the refraining from all attempts to change or question these frontiers and full respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe as they exist within the present frontiers, the press release said.

Warsaw TV Cites 'Communique'

LD082255 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2200 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has been staying in Poland on a friendly, working visit. He met with Wojciech Jaruzelski and other Polish political personalities.

The final communique on the visit by Milos Jakes to our country states that during his talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski, the leaders of both parties mutually informed each other about the current questions and basic problems of socialist construction in both states and the tasks in this area resulting from the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress. Special attention was devoted to the processes of reconstruction, the introduction of economic reforms, and also the development of socialist democracy. Wojciech Jaruzelski and Milos Jakes stated with satisfaction that cooperation between the parliaments, government institutions, political and social organizations, and propaganda institutions, and also between the cultural and scientific milieux of both states is subject to permanent, systematic widening. They eexpresed full support for the further development of all forms of social contacts serving the convergence and deepening of friendship between the eternally neighboring nations of Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Milos Jakes evaluated the results of bilateral economic cooperation realized in accordance with the program to the year 2000. They drew attention to the necessity of having more effective activities, closer cooperation and specialization, joint investment, and joint enterprises. Both officials also touched on international questions, expressing unease at the voices appearing in the West postulating compensation for the liquidation of nuclear missiles through the development of conventional and tactical nuclear potential. The general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee invited Wojciech Jaruzelski to pay a visit in Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction, it is stated in the communique.

Leaders Meet Press

LD082308 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Immediately after the talks ended, both representatives met with our journalistic and Polish journalists.

[Begin recording] [Jakes] I am pleased that Comrade Jaruzelski invited me to visit Poland so that we could exchange views on the work of our parties under present conditions. So far, we have discussed one such issue: we informed one another of the situations in our countries and in our parties and of the efforts that we are making precisely in the spirit of restructuring and the democratization of society.

I would like to say that we have many approaches in common; and a number of the questions that are being solved in Poland are also an inspiration for sovling problems not only here but in general. In particular, this concerns questions of different ways of attracting various strata of society to work to accomplish the tasks that have been set out by the congresses of our parties.

[Unidentified journalist] General, may we ask you to say a few words?

[Jaruzelski in Polish with superimposed Czech translation] I am in an better situation, because I agree with everything which Comrades Jakes has just said. I can add that I am very pleased with this visit. It allows to exchange views, to exchange experience, to confirm our traditional friendship, and at the same time to exchange contemporary evaluations, which are aimed at consolidating our countries, in the development of socialism and the acceleration of all those processes that are taking place both in Czechoslovakia and Poland.

We are still in the midst of our talks. We shall continue them. And I am convinced that they will be fruitful and useful, that they will well serve our nations, our countries.

[Unidentified journalist in Polish with superimposed Czech translation] Comrade General secretary, I have one more question for you. On 3 January at a meeting with the Prague locomotive works, you made your first public speech in your new post. At that time you said that daring affairs cannot be realized using old methods. Could you expand on this idea?

[Jakes] Well, there in the factory where I was at the beginning of a new working year, it was mainly a question of economic reforms. It is not simply a matter of economic reform, but generally it is a matter of the work of the party and of social organizations under new conditions. New methods mean above all to let go of an administrative method of economic management, to replace it with economic ones, and above all to get people involved in actively in solving problems and creating the necessary conditions for this. And that the restructuring of the economic mechanism is being realised at home in Czechoslovakia at the moment.

The goals are similar to those in Poland: this means, increasing the jurisdiction and accountability of enterprises while at the same time putting this on a khozraschet, self-financing basis; and from this it emerges that the work collectives must have the right to a say in this and that is the implementation of self-management. Simply, put what matters is that it will not be someone up there who will be arranging everything, but the people who have the maximum active participation in solving all problems that our society faces, so that they feel themselves to be true masters in their country.

[Unidentified journalist] Comrade General Secretary, during the course of the talks, did you also find it possible to enter into further cooperation, for example in the form of direct relations, or the founding of joint firms, joint enterprises?

[Jakes] We already spoke about these questions on the way from the airport; it is now on the agenda to discuss these questions. I think this is fully valid where our cooperation with Poland is concerned; and the experiences up to now show that there is great interest in this both by Polish enterprises and Czechoslovak enterprises. I think this will contribute to the deepening of cooperation and specialization between our countries that are so close to each other, both from the viewpoint of transport and that they can mutually supplement each other very well. Poland is our second largest partner after the Soviet Union where foreign trade is concerned, and it is the same on the Polish side. So we have much to say on these questions. I consider it to be exceptionally important, and this is also the point of my visit, so that with Comrade Jaruzelski we can evaluate how to further accelerate this continuing process, which it is urgent to deepen.

[Prague radio Warsaw correspondent Pavel Kopecky in Polish with superimposed Czech translation] Comrade First Secretary, Czechoslovak radio. I would like to ask you the following question: In both our countries there are processes of restructuring, not only of the economic mechanisms but also of the life of society. From this viewpoint, how do you evaluate the prospects for our mutual relations, our cooperation?

[Jaruzelski in Polish with superimposed Czech translation] I would like to point out that one can hardly speak about economic restructuring without a simultaneous and mutually linked restructuring of social and polical life—that is, the deepening of the democratization of all processes that are taking place in our countries. When we look at it from this viewpoint, I am of the opinion that it will also create a favorable platform for further widening our cooperation in various areas interparty, interparliamentary, cooperation of our youth organizations, other political parties, between your National Front and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Poland, between trade unions. To put it simply, democratization offers very rich forms that help the exchange of experiences; and I am convinced that they will serve our fraternal nations well. [end recording]

Comrade Milos Jakes today ended his friendly working visit to the People's Republic of Poland and left for home. The Czechoslovak guest was seen off at Warsaw airport by Wojciech Jaruzelski, Jozef Czyrek, and other Polish representatives.

Jakes Departs

LD082230 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, today ended his friendly working visit to the People's Republic of Poland and left for home. He was seen off at Warsaw Airport by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Party's Central Committee secretary, and other Polish representatives.

The press statement on the visit states that Comrades Milos Jakes and Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed full support for further development of all forms of contact which contribute to the deepening of friendship of the two countries. They emphasized the need to accelerate higher, more effective forms of cooperation, coordination, and specialization, the realization of joint investment programs and the founding of joint enterprises. When exchanging views on basic problems of the development of the international situation, both representatives praised the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington. At the same time, they expressed concern about voices in the West which are demanding the strength of conventional weapons and tactical nuclear weapons to compensate for the nuclear missiles scheduled for destruction. In this connection, Milos Jakes, and Wojciech Jaruzelski pointed out the importance of the socialist countries' efforts to realize the resolutions of the Berlin session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

On leaving Poland by Air, Milos Jakes sent a telgram to Wojciech Jaruzelski. He sincerely thanked the Central Committee of the PZPR and Wojciech Jaruzelski for his reception and the creation of a comradely atmosphere for the talks. He praised the fact that the meeitng took place in a spirit of full agreement of views, understanding, and determination to further all-round development of contacts between the two fraternal parties and states. In the telegram Milos Jakes also wished the PZPR, the people of the fraternal People's Republic of Poland, and Wojciech Jaruzelski personally further success in fulfilling the program of the building of socialism.

Thirteen Pacifists Reportedly Arrested

AU081853 Paris AFP in English
1823 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 8 (AFP)—Thirteen militant ecologists were arrested in Bydgoszcz, in northwest Poland on Monday when they staged a demonstration demanding the release of a hunger-striking conscientious objector, local dissidents said.

The 13, all members of the group Freedom and Peace, climbed on to a bus station roof during the rush hour and unrolled a banner calling for the release of Slawomir Dutkiewicz, who was jailed for 27 months by a military tribunal in December.

Around 200 people joined in the demonstration in front of the local party headquarters, chanting slogans for a quarter of an hour until police moved in and arrested the 13 leaders.

Mr Dutkiewicz, 23, has been on hunger strike since his arrest on November 12 for refusing to do military service.

His father said his son had lost 20 kilos (44 pounds), although he was being force-fed, and had been beaten by his jailers on several occasions.

Council of Ministers Assesses Policies

LD082326 Warsaw PAP in English
2240 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—The Council of Ministers today assessed the key problems of Poland's foreign policy and foreign economic relations as well as the state of the implementation of Polish initiatives with special attention to the Jaruzelski Plan.

The stabilization of the social situation in Poland, the putting into effect of the provisions of the second stage of the economic reform, the favourable climate following the Soviet-American summit in Washington and interest in the Polish initiatives, have all contributed to the development of Poland's broad diplomatic and economic contacts with the world.

Poland's position in the community of socialist states has improved, relations with Western states have normalized. Poland actively partakes in the East-West dialogue. Diplomatic activities associated with strengthening Poland's security, European politics and the development of multi-lateral relations have increased. Better conditions have been created for Poland to influence the security of central Europe. The plan of decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe serves this end.

The policy of openness conducted by the government has favourably changed the image of Poland in the world. The provisions and implementation of the 2nd stage of economic reform have increased interest in strengthening and improving economic relations with Poland. The further development of Poland's relations with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Paris Club will play a significant role in this field.

The exchange of visits on various levels was an important instrument of implementing the tasks of enhancing Poland's international prestige and of resuming dialogue and cooperation. Their rank and number go to show the dynamics of bilateral relations.

In the long-run, Poland's foreign policy will focus on creating a climate conducive to transformation processes in the country, to creating conditions for reformed social-economic structures to act, to supporting the normalization of financial-credit relations and scientific-technical exchange.

Efforts will be increased to shape mutual, especially economic, relations with the Soviet Union in a paraterlike manner and to bring the societies of both countries closer together. Efforts will be made to intensify relations with Czechoslovakia and the GDR and to achieve considerable rapprochement with the remaining socialist countries.

Countering the arms race will be a priority task of the policy of security and cooperation outlined in the Jaruzelski Plan. All of these factors will positively contribute to the development of cooperation between Poland and the remaining countries.

The Council of Ministers stated that the tasks envisaged by the central annual plan for 1987 in the field of commodity exchange with both socialist and hard-currency countries have been completed successfully. The growth of exports has exceeded the growth rate of the national income and sold production. This goes to prove the right direction of the adopted solutions which stimulate exports production. The results posted in the field of developing exports to not, however, correspond to the real capacities and needs of the country.

That is why it is an urgent matter to eliminate the earlier brakes in undertaking and preparing plans of the implementation of proexports investment projects which will bring about a growth in exports in the future years.

In the face of the gradual normalization of financial-credit relations between Poland and the creditor countries, it is necessary to fully make use of the possible medium- and long-term credits for self-financing pro-export investments.

Using the already existing production capacities for exports production goals also calls for the removal of the existing brakes. This boils down to materials supply for exports production, the further strengthening of the system and decentralization of hard-currency inflow, retaining the motivation forces of bonuses for exports, tax breaks for exports as well as increasing the independence and responsibility of enterprises for trade activities, including their own foreign trade networks.

Establishment of conditions for acceleration of economic integration progesses through restructuring of the economic and financial mechanisms to the forefront of the problems in development of turnover with the CMEA countries. At the same time, new forms of joint activities on the part of economic units will be introduced.

As for relations with developing countries, a boost in trade turnover, including exports of Polish goods, requires transition, on a broader scale, from simple trade exchange to co-operation links and to joint investments.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on co-ordination of 1991-1995 social and economic plans with the CMEA countries, along with an assessment of the tasks resulting from co-ordination of plans between Poland and CMEA member-states by 1990.

The total commodity and services exchange with CMEA countries is expected to grow in the years 1986-1990 by over 27 percent against the years 1981-1985. The quantitative growth in exchange is accompanied by the qualitative changes of its structure. When compared with the years 1981-1985 turnover in machines and equipment will grow from 45 to 52 per cent, with parallel decline in raw materials turnover from 40 to 34 percent.

Further cooperation with the CMEA member-states between 1991-1995 will be aimed at deepening economic, scientific, technological and trade cooperation.

Co-ordination of 1991-1995 plans will be carried out on three planes—intergovernmental, ministerial, as well as on the plane of enterprises and other economic and research organizations. This will contribute to further and fuller growth of integration of the CMEA member-states.

The Council of Ministers adopted draft amendments to the law on principles of creating enterprise pay systems. The new solutions envisage that the amount of earnings will be now solely dependent upon the enterprise's economic situation and its management effectiveness.

According to the draft amendments, in creating enterprise pay systems, hitherto obligatory limitations will be given up, including the obligation to register workplace systems of wages with the minister for labour and social policy.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the list of enterprises subjected to people's councils. In keeping with the tasks adopted in the implementation programme of the second stage of economic reforms, the restructuring of the system of managing the economy is being carried out. It is manifested by entrusting local bodies of state administration with the founding function with regard to some enterprises. Retail companies, food-, textiles-, and building- materials-producing plants as well as those which service agriculture will be given preference when transfering the founding powers to local state administration bodies.

Over 360 enterprises have already been handed over under local administration's care. The Council of Ministers recommended continuation of work on a soonest possible transfer of more enterprises under the founding supervision of local bodies of state administration.

Discovery of World War II Mass Grave Reported

*AU091229 Paris AFP in English
1224 GMT 9 Feb 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 9 (AFP)—A mass grave holding the remains of some 10,000 allegedly massacred Italian prisoners of war has been unearthed in the Polish town of Deblin, southeast of here, the weekly STOLICA wrote here Tuesday.

The weekly said the alleged World War II massacre of the Italian POWs, which it claimed was so far unknown, took place shortly after Italy capitulated to the allied powers in 1944 and joined them against Germany.

"A dozen bags of bones were found under a thin layer of earth," said Henryk Urbanowicz, member of the Polish war monument council.

Diggers found the remains as they were preparing to raise a monument on the site.

"There should still be some ... The Germans massacred them bestially. They made them dig underground tunnels, forced them to enter (the tunnels) and buried them alive," he added.

Mr. Urbanowicz told Stolica that the Germans had set up detention and labor camps at Deblin as of fall 1941 to hold Jews, Soviet POWs, and later French and Italian soldiers.

At first, 2,507 prisoners of war were held in the camp, the weekly wrote. Later, another 7,765 swelled their ranks. All were apparently prisoners or soldiers from occupied countries who refused to fight alongside the Nazis in Eastern Europe.

Stolica said between 120,000 and 150,000 Soviet POWs were held in Deblin prison camps and that half of them "died or were exterminated" by the Nazis.

Ceausescu Suggests Calling Balkan Summit

AU062009 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1856 GMT 6 Feb 88

["SCINTEIA on Inter-Balkan Cooperation"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 6/2/1988—Inter-Balkan cooperation is a major component of European detente and security, SCINTEIA underlines in a commentary in its February 6 issue.

The commentary shows inter alia:

Socialist Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu have attached special significance to the establishment of a climate of security, understanding and broad collaboration in the Balkan peninsula. For the attainment of this important political goal, Romania's president suggested the calling of a Balkan summit which should define new actions apt to help build up confidence and deepen inter-Balkan collaboration.

We think it is high time we passed on to more specific actions toward the building in the Balkans of a zone free of nuclear weapons, and of foreign military bases. We should turn the Balkans into a region of peaceful collaboration, develop cooperation for each nation's socioeconomic progress and each people's higher welfare. In this spirit we declare for an undelayed passage to preparing a Balkan summit for the achievement of such goals, Romania's president showed.

The development of ties of peace, friendship and collaboration in the Balkans has been one of the major aims of Socialist Romania's foreign policy. In this respect, Romania starts from the fact that such a transformation of the Balkan peninsula would be a remarkable, substantial contribution to the development of a climate of detente and collaboration on the continent, would be an integral part of building European and world security. At the same time, Romania started from the fact that the Balkan countries, whatever their system, are developing countries that intend to make big and fast economic progress which objectively requires the use of the advantages offered by geographic proximity, and the complementary character of their national economies.

In this spirit, Romania has repeatedly taken initiatives and steps for the organization of multilateral meetings between representativves of the Balkan states, concomitantly working for the expansion of bilateral ties between Romania and each Balkan state. Though in the Balkan peninsula there are states with different social systems, NATO or Warsaw treaty members, neutral or nonaligned, Romania has particularly good relations of friendship and collaboration with virtually all the Balkan countries. President Nicolae Ceausescu's frequent meetings with leaders of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey either in Bucharest or in Sofia, Belgrade, Athens and Ankara during his official visits to the respective countries have played a deciding role in stimulating Romania's ties with the other states in the region.

On an economic plane, important documents were concluded between Romania and all the Balkan countries, apt to stimulate mutually advantageous collaboration. The documents signed by Romania with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Albania—long-term programmes, basic agreements, trade agreements—are apt to import them stability and provide productive prospects for the growth of commercial relations, the deepening of economic cooperation also by using new, better forms of cooperation in production. Consequently, Romania's cooperation with the Balkan states covers diverse domains—from the complex use of the Danube's power potential and cooperation in key industries like machine building, electronics, electrical engineering, chemistry to the joint building of economic units of mutual interest in the power, metallurgical and mining sectors.

Romania has also made an outstanding contribution to the holding of a series of inter-Balkan meetings like the conference on economic and technical cooperation in Athens (1976), the experts meeting in Ankara (1979) on collaboration in communications and telecommunications, the experts meeting in Bucharest (1982) on energy and energy raw materrials, the Belgrade meeting (1984) on industrial cooperation. Working for the development of inter-Balkan collaboration Romania has backed the setting up or the revitalization of the activity carried on by standing specialized cooperation bodies such as the National Committees on Collaboration Among the Balkan Countries, the International Association of Southeast European Studies, the Conference of Balkan Architects, the Standing Conference of Southeast European Engineers. It is incontestable that all of them cultivated the idea of collaboration ever more deeply, and helped the ever stronger assertion and continuous promotion of the spirit of inter-Balkan cooperation.

Falling within the context of constant preoccupations for the consolidation of peace and the promotion of disarmament, for the recovery of the political climate in the Balkans was also the Bucharest initiative at the end of 1985 for the declaration and call of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and the president of the State Council of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, regarding the building of a chemical-weapon-free zone in the Balkans.

Romania also welcomed with interest and backed the proposals advanced by other states in the Balkan peninsula for the promotion of cooperation and understanding among the countries in the region.

It can be noticed with satisfaction that in this area there is a political climate today better than ever in the postwar period. Though there still are pending problems, certain litigations and controversies inherited from the past, though there still are contradictory interests linked not only once to extra-Balkan states' interference and pressure, substantial progress has been made in the inter-Balkan relations as a whole. Romania welcomed with satisfaction that, by the end of last year, the "state of war" instituted in August 1940 between Greece and Albania as an outcome of Mussolini's aggression ceased. Furthermore, contacts among political decision makers from various Balkan countries have intensified of late. A couple of days ago, for instance, the Turkish and Greek premiers met—for the first time after ten years—to survey aspects of the relations between the two states, and agreed upon the systematic holding of such meetings and the creation of working committees on the settlement of divergencies. Substantial progress was made not only on a political but also on an economic plane.

In consideration of what was achieved in the last two years, President Nicolae Ceausescu suggested the calling of a Balkan summit as an action of special political significance, such a forum being apt to open up fresh prospects for the development of cooperation, good neighborliness, understanding and security.

Highlighting that under the current circumstances it is possible and necessary to carry such an initiative into effect, Romania's president stated: We are for the calling of a Balkan head of state and government meeting to discuss the new steps which should be taken toward solving the outstanding problems, building up confidence and expanding collaboration and economic, technical and scientific cooperation, achieving disarmament and creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

In answer to a Yugoslav initiative, the foreign ministers of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and the host country will meet in Belgrade soon. The meeting was preceded by bilateral contacts and consultations and it was agreed that, to avoid a previously set agenda, possibilities are given to the participants to freely exchange opinions on the way and means of expanding cooperation in domains of mutual interest, to concentrate on noncontroversial questions, with emphasis on the factors of rapprochement, and work for a more intense use of the advantages offered by geographic proximity and transport and communications facilities.

The importance of the meeting is undoubtedly determined by the fact that it validates the correctness and realism of the orientations and endeavours made, as it is the first meeting of the kind at the level of foreign ministers of the six Balkan countries. It can also be considered that the present European and world context makes up a favourable prerequisite, owing to the new positive elements occurred with regard to disarmament and the elimination of some types of missiles. It is with good reason that the hope is expressed that the meeting will mark a major step toward detente and understanding, favouring the further improvement of the general political climate.

Certainly, the successful unfolding of the Balkan foreign ministers' meeting will be apt to open positive prospects to the subsequent progress of this process, marking a fruitful stage in approaching questions of inter-Balkan collaboration and understanding in superior forms.

Falling within this context is also Romania's proposal for the calling of a Balkan summit as an objective of deciding significance for the translation into fact of the cooperation and good neighbohood, understanding and security desiderata. Undoubtedly a meeting to be attended by the Balkan heads of state and government that have the possibility and attributes to make decisions and take efficient measures for the building up of confidence, the development of economic, technical and scientific cooperation as well as for the achievement of disarmament and the creation of a nuclear-and chemical-weapon-free zone in the Balkans is apt to lead to the attainment of the common aspirations after peace and socioeconomic progress of the peoples in this part of Europe.

Romania is determined to make its contribution to the proper holding of the Belgrade meeting, convinced that it will pave the way for a higher stage in cooperation as a whole, with a decisive role to be played in this respect by the summit conference proposed by Romania.

Any step toward understanding in the Balkans and in other parts of the world would go down as a major constructive event in the international life, as an expression of comprehending the demands posed by the new way of thinking and approaching world issues, a significant step toward the attainment of the aspirations for peace and progress of the peoples in the region, in harmony with the aspirations for peaceful development of the international community.

Leaders' Public Appearances 31 Jan-6 Feb

AU062125 [Editorial Report] Bucharest AGERPRES in English reports the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 31 January-6 February period (sourcelines given in parentheses):

On 4 February, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu attended the opening session of the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People in Bucharest; Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and RCP Central Committee Secretary Emil Bobu addressed the plenary meeting on the agenda points. (1436 GMT 4 Feb 88)

On 4 February the following officials attended a festive meeting in Bucharest on the 40th anniversary of the signing of the First Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between Romania and the Soviet Union: Gheorghe Radulescu, PEC member and vice chairman of the State Council; Ion Coman, PEC member and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Ion Stoian, PEC member and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Cornel Pacoste, candidate PEC member and deputy prime minister of the Government; and Ion Teoreanu, minister of education and instruction. (1830

GMT 4 Feb 88) On the same day, the above-mentioned officials attended a Soviet Embassy reception on that anniversary. (1840 GMT 4 Feb 88)

On 3 February, President Nicolae Ceausescu received the credentials of the new Somali ambassador Mohamed Ahmed Abdi Tafadal [spelling as received] (1850 GMT 3 Feb 88) and of the new Netherlands ambassador Coenraad Frederik Stork. (1934 GMT 3 Feb 88) On the same day, Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee. (1805 GMT 3 Feb 88)

On 5 February, President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed the closing session of the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People. (2106 GMT 5 Feb 88)

On 5 February, President Nicolae Ceausescu received visiting U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead. (2000 GMT 5 Feb 88)

On 6 February, Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei met with U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead. (1848 GMT 6 Feb 88)

Waldheim Documents Available to Commission

LD081504 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 8 Feb 88

["Official Statement in Connection With 'The Waldheim Case'"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Ambassador Aleksandar Stanic, Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs spokesman, today made the following official statement:

The SFRY Government has received a request from the international commission of historians for the clarification of the wartime past of Dr Kurt Waldheim, forwarded through our embassy in Vienna, to support its work and make available the documents "on the role of Lt Waldheim in the headquarters of the Western Bosnia Combat Group" published in some foreign and Yugoslav press media, and also other documents connected with it.

In this connection, I would like to stress that, in keeping with our legislative enactments, the documents in Yugoslav state archives are accessible to all interested parties under identical conditions, whether they be Yugoslav or foreign citizens, and consequently also to the aforementioned commission. This opportunity has been taken advantage of so far on many occasions by Yugoslav and foreign scholars, individuals, commissions, and institutes, including the representatives of the aforementioned international commission of historians. Of course, the evaluation of the credibility of the documents appearing in public, and all other issues connected with them, are subject to the judgment of the experts and researchers.

It is natural that our country and our public should evince great interest in illuminating that part of Dr Kurt Waldheim's wartime past that refers to a period of the greatest sufferings of our peoples and that has come to light during the past 2 years on the basis of the discovery of new documents in the U.S. and FRG archives, and also during the subsequent searches in the Yugoslav archives.

Yugoslavia always had and still has all historic and moral reasons for the most comprehensive truth possible to be ascertained on the events on its territory and on the tribulations of its citizens during World War II. There can be no exceptions to that.

At this juncture, I would like to stress the need and mutual interest in maintaining good and stable relations between Yugoslavia and Austria in the interest of good neighborly relations, through friendly cooperation between the two countries.

Telegram 'Most Sought After'

AU082138 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 88 p 7

[D. Pusonjic and O. Nikolic report: "Archives Under Siege"]

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Feb—The possibility that the so-called "Waldheim telegram" is in the archives of the Military Historical Institute of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has not been ruled out. Whether the above-mentioned document is among the five million other documents can only be established with the aid of the call number under which the telegram was registered. This was stated to BORBA by an official from the institute who wanted to remain anonymous.

Lieutenant Waldheim's telegram is probably one of the most sought after documents today. This was confirmed today in the institute where we were unofficially told that a number of historians and domestic journalists are besieging the archives in the search for the original. It soon became clear to us that this was not a "quick job."

Archive material can be seen only after a complicated procedure. In addition to submitting an application for the use of documents, one also has to sign a statement that—taking account of moral and criminal responsibility—the data contained in the archive documents will not be "used in such a way as would damage the reputation and interests of the SFRY, the Yugoslav Army, or individuals."

We have learned that the "hunt" for the telegram was also joined by a team of experts from the institute who have a somewhat easier job—they can use the internal inventory of documents relating to the war period. Instead of this, "ordinary" researchers have at their disposal a card catalogue of numerous holdings "sorted" according to years, units, or other criteria. This means that the documentation on Waldheim is not all in one or several places—if it is here at all.

In our search for documents about the Kozara offensive from July 1942, and General Stahl's letters, we found only one more telegram. The telegram was sent to the command of the unit stationed in the Brod area on 14 July 1942, bearing the signature of Fedor Dragojlov. At first glance, it would be clear even to a layman that this telegram is identical to that of "Waldheim": Both were signed by the already mentioned Ustasha Colonel Fedor Dragojlov, the official stamps are identical, the form of the telegram is completely the same, and both state in the margin that they were printed by the Kugla Printers of Zagreb. In addition to this, the same spaces have been filled in both telegrams and, as far as their external appearance is concerned, they differ only in that "Waldheim's" telegram does not have a call number.

We would also like to add the following: We were not given the opportunity to speak to the institute's experts who, as we have already said, are searching for the "fifth irrefutable proof" that Kurt Waldheim was involved in the genocide of civilians in Kozara—for this conversation we needed "additional, special permission." And another thing, we could not look at some other documents because they were "taken" [zauzet].

Mikulic Leaves for Official Visit to Canada

LD091152 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1120 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic left here earlier today on an official visit to Canada at the invitation of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. This is a first visit to Canada by a high Yugoslav official since 1971, when President Tito make an official visit to that country.

Mikulic and Mulroney will review ways to promote bilateral cooperation.

They will also discuss international issues, primarily East-West relations, trends in Europe, focuses of crisis and international economic problems.

During the visit to Ottawa, Mikulic will also meet with leading Canadian businessmen to exchange views on concrete steps and efforts to expand trade and enhance more advanced forms of economic cooperation between the two countries.

At the end of the official part of the visit, the Yugoslav prime minister will attend the opening of the Calgary Winter Olympics. Mikulic was president of the organizing committee of the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo.

Dizdarevic Speaks on Upcoming Balkan Conference

LD081956 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1647 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, assessed that favorable conditions have been created for the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries to be successful. It can be expected that the meeting will have a positive effect on the overall atmosphere in the relations among the Balkan countries, and this precisely could be a major result of the forthcoming meeting.

Raif Dizdarevic, vice-president of the SFRY Presidency, came out with these assessments when he took part this evening in the Sarajevo Television program "Parallels," devoted to the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries that will be held in Belgrade from 24-26 February. Also participating in this broad-cast were Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs; Karolos Papoulias, Greek minister of foreign affairs; and Mesut Yilmaz, Turkish minister of foreign affairs.

Raif Dizdarevic, who as federal secretary for foreign affairs launched the initiative for holding this meeting and was then very involved in the preparations for it, said that the idea to hold the meeting had been in the works for a long time.

"When it is a matter of Yugoslav policy, I must say that we have constantly felt that the policy of good-neighborliness—which we cherish and are developing—could not be fully realized without the development of wider Balkan cooperation. In other words, without the development of cooperation among all the countries that are our neighbors. Also, the state of relations in the Balkans and everything we have been confronted with in our efforts to develop better relations, to create a better atmosphere for broad cooperation constantly took us back to this question of the necessity of breathing life into widespread cooperation among all the Balkan countries and their joint involvement in those questions where cooperation is indispensable and where there are common needs. It is well-known that historical legacies have left a great burden in the relations among the Balkan countries and, unfortunately, this burden of the past is tough, alive, and still has a negative impact on Balkan relations. Also, some earlier initiatives for multilateral cooperation among the Balkan countries failed to survive. Some attempts to launch specific forms of general Balkan cooperation lasted a short time and came to a halt.

"In current international relations, dialogue is also becoming increasingly widespread on questions that are not exactly pleasant in the relations among individual parts of the world and individual countries in individual regions. Increasingly there is—I would even say that it is expanding—regional cooperation, while this has not occurred in the Balkans. We have all, I feel, been under pressure from this situation and we all thought: How and in what way can we give a serious impetus to what we all need" In other words, the question of broad Balkan cooperation was present in the contacts among the Balkan countries even in the period before the initiative was launched—and on this we have had an exchange of views. We in Yugoslavia, in the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, in the FEC, in the SFRY Presidency and especially in the SFRY Assembly's Foreign Policy Committee, have constantly been thinking about what kind of contribution Yugoslavia could make. It was in this setting that a way was sought to revitalize general Balkan cooperation and it is from this that the idea about a meeting of foreign ministers germinated."

Asked about the exchange of views he had with the Albanian foreign minister in New York, Dizdarevic said that he, indeed, conducted a profound exchange of views with Minister Malile that focused on the nature and objectives of and the need for a meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers. "We made an effort to provide the Albanian minister with answers to all the questions they were faced with before making a definite decision. Of course, the Albanian side came up with some very useful views about cooperation in the Balkans. This happened at the time when Albania began to direct its orientation toward developing relations with Balkan countries and when, as it were, Albanian Balkan policy became more intensive. It was precisely this aspect of Albania's foreign policy that Minister Malile spoke about at the UN General Assembly.

"In my view, the decision to accept the proposal on the meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers was an aspect of Albania's orientation toward developing relations with Balkan countries... I would also like to say that in addition to my meeting with Minister Malile over the same period we had regular contacts with Albania as well as regular exchanges of views about the meeting at the level of our ambassador in Tirana and the Albanian ambassador here in Belgrade and that a whole series of other contacts, talks, and even shifts in relations had taken place between Yugoslavia and Albania. For instance, our federal foreign trade secretary visited Tirana. In other words, by holding regular contacts with us and maintaining regular dialogue with other Balkan countries, Albania is preparing for participation in the meeting in Belgrade." Commenting on a statement by Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov to the effect that no spectacular results should be expected and that a great deal had already been done by the very fact that the meeting would take place, Raif Dizdarevic stressed that this was also Yugoslavia's approach. "From the very beginning we agreed that our proposals should refer to what is at the moment realistically possible to achieve, what is of common interest to us all, and what is our common need."

Raif Dizdarevic went on to recall one of his meetings with Greek Minister Papoulias and their discussion about the best way to initiate cooperation in the Balkans that would include all the countries. On that occasion, we mentioned the possibility of organizing a meeting of the foreign ministers through patient preparations and by steadily creating conditions for it.

In the view of the vice president of the SFRY Presidency, it could be said that the idea about and initiative on the meeting had already had some effect and had made certain impact. This is borne out by the fact that since the first proposal about the meeting was made and accepted less than a year ago, there have been considerable positive shifts in relations between individual Balkan countries such as the decision to discontinue the anachronism of the "state of war" between Greece and Albania, an increase in the number and frequency of contacts between Balkan countries, and the recent meeting between Greek and Turkish prime ministers that was preceded by years of no dialogue whatsoever, not even at a lower diplomatic level. In other words, during this period a more favorable atmosphere in relations among Balkan countries has been created.

Of course, I do not wish to attribute this solely to our initiative for the meeting, nor do I think that it all resulted from the initiative alone. However, the fact is that its launching inspired all the countries in the Balkan to reconsider the realistic ways for developing all-inclusive cooperation in the Balkans and for improving relations among Balkan countries. The initiative has, without doubt, had an effect on developments in relations among individual Balkan countries. Of course, a conducive climate for this was also created by a great number of contacts among all Balkan countries—bilateral contacts to discuss preparations for the meeting in Belgrade, exchanges of views about the initiative, about the possible agenda for the meeting, and so on.

Replying to the question of what could be expected from the meeting, Raif Dizdarevic replied:

"I think that favorable conditions have been created for the success of the meeting. It is a fact that during the last few months of preparations for the meeting, the interest of all the Balkan participants has been expressed increasingly strongly that the meeting should be successful and fruitful. Also, the increase in the responsibility of everyone for the outcome of this meeting implies that we can expect that the meeting will pass in a good atmosphere and that it will be fruitful. The course of the meeting itself—it is to be expected—will have a positive effect on the overall atmosphere in the relations among the Balkan countries, and this could be a major result of this meeting. Also, it will be a very powerful stimulus to finding lasting forms and aspects of cooperation in fields where, so to speak, it is vital, not only possible and not only necessary.

"I expect that the meeting will provide a powerful impetus to the development of economic relations and economic cooperation in the Balkans, especially the development of trade. I expect that there will be an increase in the movement of goods on the Balkan market and I also expect initiatives for talks as to the reciprocal concessions and special rights by which the Balkan countries can raise the level of trade and commercial activity as a whole. I am expecting initiatives in the field of science and technology, in the field of energy, and in the field of communications; and this not only when it is a matter of the exploitation of existing communication links, but also of how to expand the existing network.

"I expect that conditions will be created for the germination—in the not too distant future—of at least one Balkan enterprise in some field, because at present there is none. I believe that also in the field of ecology there is great interest on the part of everyone in cooperation. Of course, I expect that the meeting will be a powerful political impetus for cooperation in the field of information dissemination—the collaboration of agencies and the television studios of the Balkan countries, and so on. The meeting will also stimulate broad cultural cooperation. In some of these fields—I am convinced and I expect this—concrete ideas will be put forward at the meeting as to how to set about the constant realization of cooperation, in which forms."

In reference to the proposal to make the Balkans a chemical- and nuclear-weapons-free zone, Dizdarevic said that initiatives to this effect were not new, but that there was disagreement over this among Balkan countries. These initiatives have not been met by the same response in all countries and that is why they could not be realized. However, cooperation will lead us to it—cooperation, where realistically possible. At the meeting we will make efforts to focus our attention on this. By creating a more favorable atmosphere through cooperation in the Balkans—we will also create scope for future talks about issues we cannot discuss at present.

"I think we all need concrete agreements and concrete cooperation in those areas where cooperation is urgently needed and where it is of common interest. It is, however, necessary to constantly provide a political impetus for this cooperation, constant political encouragement to persevere and to avoid another halt. We need a common political dialogue in the Balkans. I therefore believe that the Belgrade meeting will be the first in a whole series of meetings between foreign ministers and that it is possible to maintain the continuity of our initiative. I believe this would make a great contribution to the efforts to develop better relations in the Balkans. And I wish to repeat, this meeting is the first one in the entire history of relations among the Balkan countries. However, I believe that, if successful, it wil pave the way for more frequent meetings of foreign ministers and, in the future, for meetings of the Balkan countries' heads of state and government," Raif Dizdarevic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, said in conclusion.

Agrokomerc Debt to CSSR Firm Resolved

LD081402 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Velika Kladusa, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—The future of the credit agreement signed in 1986 between Agrokomerc and the Czechoslovak firm Transakta on reciprocal trade to the value of $140 million, which was in the balance after the promissory note scandal broke out, has now been resolved satisfactorily.

Thanks to full understanding displayed by the Czechoslovak side, the credit debt was reduced to only $10.562 million. The repayment will begin at the end of 1989, the repayment period is 7 years, and the rate of interest is 9 percent. The remainder of the credit debt will be paid with products from the Agrokomerc range of goods.

Chamber Discusses Trade, Economic Relations

LD041823 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 4 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—At today's session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly questions on economic and political relations between our country and the world dominated. The delegates endorsed without debate a program of work for the chamber in 1988 and then discussed a report on implementing the resolution on economic relations between Yugoslavia and foreign countries. An introductory speech was made by Nenad Krekic, FEC member and federal secretary for foreign trade. [passage omitted]

Trade with foreign countries last year, Krekic said, was carried on with certain improvements relative to 1986. In 1987 exports of goods increased by 5.3 percent relative to the preceding year, and this is the result of the growth of exports to convertible currency markets (17.6 percent).

Delegates then endorsed a report on carrying out the basic program of SFRY measures and activities for implementing the decisions of the eighth conference of the heads of state of government of nonaligned countries in Harare.

Speaking about this report, Miodrag Trajkovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, stressed that the complexity of the international economic situation, and the blossoming of the debt crisis demanded that after Harare Yugoslavia be especially active in implementing economic decisions of the eighth summit. [passage omitted]

[passage omitted] The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces then endorsed reports on implementing a program of cooperation between the SFRY Assembly and representatives of organs of other states for the past year and on the proposed program of this cooperation for this year, as well as the starting bases for the forthcoming visits of the SFRY Assembly delegation to Australia from 14 to 21 February and New Zealand from 21 to 24 February this year.

Newly appointed Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar was today officially sworn in in front of this chamber, and at the same time he was relieved of his duties as deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs.

Delegates then endorsed the decision about the formation, activity , members, and tasks of the SFRY Assembly commission for monitoring the implementation of the program of measures and activities to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and to ensure a speedier return to those who left and arrival of all those who wish to live and work in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Today the Chamber endorsed the proposal that Saso Ivanovski should be appointed federal public attorney and relieved Hrvoje Bcic, who has recently been elected to the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, of his duties as federal adviser in the SFRY Assembly.

At the end of the session, the Chamber endorsed the so-called oil package, which contains six laws dealing with the long-standing problems—from 1980 until the end of last year—of covering foreign exchange differences created in the oil economy, the organizations of associated labor that carried out projects abroad, and of banks. Until now this question has been regulated by FEC decisions, committee for energy and oil economy documents, and by other regulations. [passage omitted]

The solutions contained in the regulations endorsed today will not lead to price increases of oil derivatives.

Rumors About Nuclear Research Institute Denied

LD081726 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Josip Vrhovec, member of the Yugoslav Presidency, today visited his constituency, the Zagreb municipality of Medvescak. After talking with his hosts, he visited our biggest scientific and research institute, Rudjer Boskovic, and the INA-NAFTAPLIN work organization. Here is a report by Jasna Pavelic-Juresko:

[Begin recording] [Pavelic-Juresko] Constitutional changes and the economy were the main topics of discussion in Medvescak municipality. [passage omitted]

At the Rudjer Boskovic Nuclear Research Institute, apart from the obvious discussion on the institute's role in scientific and technological development in Croatia, Josip Vrhovec was particuarly interested in the institute's nuclear program, in view of the report that appeared in the West German magazine SPIEGEL and the media reaction to it. Dr Krunoslav Flis [title as received], the institute's director general, categorically denied these rumors, and stressed, among other things:

[Flis] As far as the Rudjer Boskovic Institute is concerned, it is most certainly an advanced technology center. Nuclear technology is one such technology. Of course, a special aspect of nuclear technology is its possible application for non-peaceful purposes. In this context, it must be stated clearly that the Rudjer Boskovic Institute is part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which supports, and very actively too, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the SFRY has signed certain agreements on this. Yugoslavia is not working on any nuclear bomb whatsoever nor has she any ambitions to work on nuclear weapons or an atomic bomb production program. However, on the other hand, it is certainly true that we must monitor and concern ourselves with nuclear technology and master it for peaceful purposes. We must also keep abreast of the events in the world on the application of nuclear technology for militarist purposes.

[Pavelic-Juresko] In this context, stressed Josip Vrhovec, we must acquire knowledge, and the Rudjer Boskovic Institute must be open both to our citizens and to the international public. Its work must be organized, not haphazard.

Josip Vrhovec visited the work organization in the Medvescak area, INA-NAFTAPLIN. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Serbian Leader Budimirovic Expelled From LC

AU082212 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 4 Feb 88 p 5

[D. Gashi article: "Bosko Budimirovic Expelled From the LC"]

[Text] Yesterday's meeting of the basic LC organization of the coal services division of Kosovo Elektroekonomia, attended by Nebih Berisha, executive secretary of the Pristina LC Communal Committee Presidency, unanimously supported the assessments of Pristina LC Communal Committee on the ideopolitical responsibilities of certain LC members, and also supported the recommendation of the social council formed to determine the ideopolitical responsibility of Bosko Budimirovic, a member of this organization, against whom the ideopolitical measure of expulsion from the LCY was taken. The social council to determine the ideopolitical responsibility of this LC member was formed in September last year, but the organization was unable to reach a decision on this matter because of insufficient evidence. The social council continued with its work and supplemented its report with data from the assessments of the LC Communal Committee, finally proposing the ideopolitical measure on the basis of the evidence that Bosko Budimirovic has for a long time been exploiting the difficult situation in our province for other purposes, manipulating people's real difficulties for destructive ends, that he has attacked progressive forces and the LC, and that in spite of the stands taken by the highest party authorities that their should be no excessive behavior while the ninth plenum was being held, he advocated mass emigration and took part in gatherings during the plenum. It was said that he did not see a way out of our difficulties in a systematic adherence to the LCY line, and that he had insulted Comrade Tito's personality in a statement made to the magazine MLADOST, and that during meetings of Communists in Kosovo Polje he had sent telegrams to party bodies saying that "separatists and those who keep silent had been invited."

The first speaker at the meeting, which lasted more than 5 hours, was Dragos Milovic, who pointed out that in the assessments "there are over-general statements and blame is ascribed equally to everybody." However, this speaker said that there were some specific matters laid against Bosko Budimirovic, for which he must answer. Bosko Budimirovic in his long speech attempted to deny the assessments of the Communal Committee, describing this body's work as "pre-Brioni" [before the LCY Central Committee Brioni plenum of July 1966], and leveling accusations against the committee and the president of its presidium.

Many later speakers disassociated themselves from his statement that "the work of the committee is 'pre-Brioni.'" Nebih Berisha, among other things, said that the committee assessments were approved unanimously at its meeting and are well-argued, but that the determination of responsibility was not yet an accomplished fact, and must be discussed in democratic fashion. Osman Gashi said that he had no comment on Bosko Budimirovic's work at the open-cast mine, but that there was no reason not to accept the assessments, for there are no counterarguments. Adem Hashani said that Bosko Budimirovic had publicly admitted he had taken part in single-nationality gatherings during working hours, and that it was well-known that there had even been calls for civil war at these gatherings. Zivorad Gogic objected to speculative accusations by party bodies and individuals. Vojislav Knezevic also said that a body whom we have no cause to distrust stands behind the assessments, and added that "it was difficult for our region, when what took place on the streets happened at a time when the highest party body was meeting to find ways to surmount our problems." Vojislav Aksentijevic said that the committee's assessments must be approved, while Bozidar Radomirovic said that he knew Budimirovic had been to Belgrade and that it was wrong of him not to admit to any mistakes. "I am sorry," he said, turning to Budimirovic, "You have put yourself forward as a leader, and still do so. You insult the president of the Pristina LC on the basis of your own imagination. Fame has swollen your head and you have been unable to realize that you have gone beyond the pale. You therefore have no place in the LC."

Later, much time was wasted discussing whether it was in accordance with the statutes to make a decision on the basis of the report of the earlier social council, or whether a new social council must be formed. It was said that the party organization had made the initial decision to form a social council, and there was no reason to create another one. The members of this LC organization approved the social council's proposal to expel Bosko Budimirovic from the LCY by 22 votes to one.

Roundtable Looks at Role of Army in Society

LD090015 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Theses about the intentions of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] to abolish the present self-managing system in Yugoslavia by force of arms, break up our federal society, and in its own way replace all this with a unitarist and centralist Yugoslavia in no way originated with the Army.

This and other things were stressed at today's roundtable on the role of the JNA in society, which was organized by the editorial board of DELO. Slavko Sorsk, a member of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, recalled that the SFRY Presidency is the commander of the armed forces and it is impossible to think about the Army itself taking things into its hands without corresponding orders from the state organs. Ivan Dolnicar stressed that the Army in our country is a constituent part of the political system and as such is enmeshed in all social events. However, he added, it cannot appear as some sort of arbiter. Distrust of the Army arises out of general distrust. I believe, Dolnicar stressed, that in any case we are now in a great crisis of confidence.

Major General Ivo Tominc, assistant commander of the Ljubljana Military District, spoke about another fictional theses according to which the Army would stay in their barracks. This, Tominc believes, would mean depriving people in the Army—not only those who do this as a professional career, but primarily young people who put on military uniforms for 1 year—of certain rights granted to them by the Constitution.

Is there anywhere else in Europe and the world, Tominc asked, a society which would facilitate talks on the topic of whether the Army is necessary or not? The exponents of such theses do not see how this is dealt with in countries which consider themselves to be very democratic.

Marko Hren, a representative of the peace movement in Slovenia, said that in our country an "equal" sign is often put between the Army and defense forces. Defense forces, in his view, ensure social security, ecological balance, and trust of the people, whereas only in the most extreme circumstances is the Army a necessary evil for the preservation of stability.

These viewpoints were interpreted by Dr Milan Vucinic of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense as humanist, but also utopian.

Vice Admiral Stane Brovet, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, assessed the issue of doing civilian service in lieu of military service as a question which has unnecessarily become political. Because of the failure of this initiative among the Yugoslav public, they are now often accusing the JNA of indifference to this idea. However, the JNA has not rejected debate on this question, but has given convincing arguments that I believe to be objective: and in view of these arguments, it cannot have a different stance.

In the opinion of Vice Admiral Stane Brovet, the attacks in the public media are part of the attack by antisocialist and anti-self-managing forces, not only on the JNA, but on the achievements of our revolution. This is a matter of people advocating the disintegration of the united

Yugoslav defense system and the imposition of an alternative defense concept, according to which, instead of the JNA, republican and provincial armies of the military-militia type would be founded.

Setinc Speaks at Socialist Alliance Meeting

LD052058 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 5 Feb 88

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—In the method and content of the Socialist Alliance's work, one should begin with the problems that oppress workers and citizens, without neglecting the theoretical and scientific approach to these problems. This was stated by Franc Setinc, LCY Central Committee Presidium member, during a meeting with activists of the Bosnia-Hercegovina and Sarajevo Socialist Alliance, and a number of members of this republic's Central Committee Presidium, in connection with the implementation of the stands of the sixth LCY Central Committee session on the activity of Communists in the Socialist Alliance.

There is a growing belief among workers and citizens, said Setinc, that everything is prepared in advance in the forum-like work. This results in passivity and inactivity by most of the membership, which is very detrimental both to front and to party activity.

On the activities of Communists in the forefront, Setinc said that Communists should not be more numerous, but considerably more active. It is not good, he thought, that activists in the socialist alliance who are not LC members cannot have leading functions. A criterion of involvement is therefore not taken into consideration when these people are concerned, stressed Setinc. [passage omitted]

Kosovo TU Discusses Halting Emigration

LD052142 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 88

[Text] The federation of Kosovo trade unions has gotten considerable results in implementing the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee session. These results in many respects helped the workers to regain their confidence in their organization. This has created a better climate for attaining national equality and protecting the self-management rights of workers as an essential precondition for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

This was agreed on during the session today of the Provincial Council of the Federation of Trade Unions, which discussed this organization's activity in implementing the decisions of the LC plenum on Kosovo. It was stressed that the question of ideopolitical and working differentation had been accelerated and that the reaction to antiself-management and antisocialist manifestations is more resolute.

Participating in the debate, Azim Vlasi, president of the LC of Kosovo Provincial Committee Presidium especially stressed the contribution the trade unions were making to stabilizing the Kosovo political and security situation. This, he said, is reflected in the fact that the working class provided our strongest support both after the events in 1981 and now, when it is facing difficult economic and social problems.

The Council of the Federation of Kosovo Trade Unions today agreed on the tasks stemming from the Yugoslav program of measures and activities to halt emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, more rapid return of those who had left, and the arrival of all those who wish to live and work in this province.

Constitutional Debate Needs Objective Media

AU061907 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 88 pp 1, 6

[Text] (TANJUG)—The public debate on constitutional changes should be a strong and well-organized political campaign in which the base should express its authentic views on the proposed changes. A demonstration of the high quality of this debate is a prerequisite for democratic reform. The media is expected to report objectively and without bias on the course of the debate bearing in mind the entire Yugoslav information area.

This was stated yesterday by Milojko Drulovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, who opened the conversation with the chief and responsible editors from newspapers, radio, and television. The talk was devoted to the tasks of the public debate on constitutional changes and the forthcoming LCY conference that is to be held at the initiative of the SAWP and the SFRY Assembly.

Dr Marjan Rozic, Vidoje Zarkovic, and Milos Milosavljevic spoke about the essence of the proposed constitutional amendments and solutions that are drawing particular attention.

Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, briefed chief editors about the preparations for and the aims of the LCY conference.

The aim of the proposed changes in relations within the Federation is to improve the Federation's self-managing concepts and remove the tendencies toward disintegration, polycentric statism, and unitarianism. This was stated by Dr Marjan Rozic at the yesterday's meeting with chief and responsible editors from newspapers, radio, and television. He pointed out that the changes are inseparably connected with changes in socioeconomic relations, that the republics and provinces should have the same attitudes toward the Federation's functions as toward their own, and that this attitude should be affirmed in the public debate.

Rozic said that the Constitutional Commission could prepare the draft of amendments by the beginning of July so that constitutional changes could be adopted before the November holidays.

Need for Objective Reporting [subhead]

Referring to the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee, Vidoje Zarkovic stressed that the Communists in the media should contribute to the media's adequate explanation of constitutional changes; that during the public debate they should report objectively from their own areas, as well as from other parts of the country; and that they should oppose those views that advocate solutions contrary to LCY policy or tend toward state socialism or bourgeois society.

Zarkovic also said that in some cases constitutional changes are spoken about without knowing their essence, and that their essence is distorted and then sharply criticized. He stressed that it is unacceptable for some newspapers to carry in advance only those arguments favored by sociopolitical circles in a particular republic.

LCY Conference Will Not Be a Small Congress [subhead]

Vidoje Zarkovic then spoke about changes in the political system that would facilitate more rational and efficient decisionmaking in associated labor and flexible organization, and that will improve the delegate and election systems. It is not true, Zarkovic pointed out, that by spreading direct elections we are abandoning the delegate system.

The changes in the socioeconomic system are not cosmetic because new provisions (on social ownership, pooling of labor and resources, banks) ensure the introduction of all market elements, Milos Milosavljevic said. Mentioning differing views on ownership and social ownership, Milosavljevic pointed out that social ownership as the basis of self-management cannot be questioned, but that one should only search for ways of how to use it more efficiently.

According to him, the public debate should fully explain the supposition of the Yugoslav unified market and check whether the proposed changes on the investment of foreign capital fully protect the interests of foreign partners and the openness of the domestic economy.

The LCY conference will not be a small congress, but is very important and necessary, Bosko Krunic pointed out in his speech about the main preoccupation regarding preparations for the forthcoming meeting. We are currently working on theses that will be the basis for preparing delegates for a debate in the LCY organs and organizations.

Krunic said that the conference should be approached with questions such as how, who, and why, and that less time should be spent on past events. The conference should contribute to the LC organizing itself as a movement and a party that will solve the crises. The conference should critically review vacillations, resistance, and obstacles to the implementation of the 13th LCY Congress resolutions in order for the LC to take action to overcome negative tendencies.